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Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

(*BRITISH SERIES*)

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH.D.

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A MANUAL OF ARCHIVE ADMINISTRATION

INCLUDING THE PROBLEMS OF WAR ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVE MAKING

BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In the autumn of 1914 when the scientific study of the effects of war upon modern life passed suddenly from theory to history, the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace proposed to adjust the programme of its researches to the new and altered problems which the War presented. The existing programme, which had been prepared as the result of a conference of economists held at Berne in 1911, and which dealt with the facts then at hand, had just begun to show the quality of its contributions; but for many reasons it could no longer be followed out. A plan was therefore drawn up at the request of the Director of the Division, in which it was proposed by means of an historical survey, to attempt to measure the economic cost of the War and the displacement which it was causing in the processes of civilization. Such an 'Economic and Social History of the World War', it was felt, if undertaken by men of judicial temper and adequate training, might ultimately, by reason of its scientific obligations to truth, furnish data for the forming of sound public opinion, and thus contribute fundamentally toward the aims of an institution dedicated to the cause of international peace.

The need for such an analysis, conceived and executed in the spirit of historical research, was increasingly obvious as the War developed, releasing complex forces of national life not only for the vast process of destruction but also for the stimulation of new capacities for production. This new economic activity, which under normal conditions of peace might have been a gain to society, and the surprising capacity exhibited by the belligerent nations for enduring long and increasing loss—often while presenting the outward semblance of new prosperity—made necessary a reconsideration of the whole field of war economics. A double obligation was therefore placed upon the Division of Economics and History. It was obliged to concentrate its work upon the

problem thus presented, and to study it as a whole; in other words, to apply to it the tests and disciplines of history. Just as the War itself was a single event, though penetrating by seemingly unconnected ways to the remotest parts of the world, so the analysis of it must be developed according to a plan at once all embracing and yet adjustable to the practical limits of the available data.

During the actual progress of the War, however, the execution of this plan for a scientific and objective study of war economics proved impossible in any large and authoritative way. Incidental studies and surveys of portions of the field could be made and were made under the direction of the Division, but it was impossible to undertake a general history for obvious reasons. In the first place, an authoritative statement of the resources of belligerents bore directly on the conduct of armies in the field. The result was to remove as far as possible from scrutiny those data of the economic life of the countries at war which would ordinarily, in time of peace, be readily available for investigation. In addition to this difficulty of consulting documents, collaborators competent to deal with them were for the most part called into national service in the belligerent countries and so were unavailable for research. The plan for a war history was therefore postponed until conditions should arise which would make possible not only access to essential documents but also the co-operation of economists, historians, and men of affairs in the nations chiefly concerned, whose joint work would not be misunderstood either in purpose or in content.

Upon the termination of the War the Endowment once more took up the original plan, and it was found with but slight modification to be applicable to the situation. Work was begun in the summer and autumn of 1919. In the first place a final conference of the Advisory Board of Economists of the Division of Economics and History was held in Paris, which limited itself to planning a series of short preliminary surveys of special fields. Since, however, the purely preliminary character of such studies was further emphasized by the fact that they were

directed more especially towards those problems which were then fronting Europe as questions of urgency, it was considered best not to treat them as part of the general survey but rather as of contemporary value in the period of war settlement. It was clear that not only could no general programme be laid down *a priori* by this conference as a whole, but that a new and more highly specialized research organization than that already existing would be needed to undertake the Economic and Social History of the War, one based more upon national grounds in the first instance and less upon purely international co-operation. Until the facts of national history could be ascertained, it would be impossible to proceed with comparative analysis ; and the different national histories were themselves of almost baffling intricacy and variety. Consequently the former European Committee of Research was dissolved, and in its place it was decided to erect an Editorial Board in each of the larger countries and to nominate special editors in the smaller ones, who should concentrate, for the present at least, upon their own economic and social war history.

The nomination of these boards by the General Editor was the first step taken in every country where the work has begun. And if any justification was needed for the plan of the Endowment, it at once may be found in the lists of those, distinguished in scholarship or in public affairs, who have accepted the responsibility of editorship. This responsibility is by no means light, involving, as it does, the adaptation of the general editorial plan to the varying demands of national circumstances or methods of work ; and the measure of success attained is due to the generous and earnest co-operation of those in charge in each country.

Once the editorial organization was established there could be little doubt as to the first step which should be taken in each instance toward the actual preparation of the history. Without documents there can be no history. The essential records of the War, local as well as central, have therefore to be preserved and to be made available for research in so far as is compatible with public interest. But this archival task is a very great one, belonging of right to the governments and other owners of historical sources

and not to the historian or economist who proposes to use them. It is an obligation of ownership; for all such documents are public trust. The collaborators on this section of the war history, therefore, working within their own field as researchers, could only survey the situation as they found it and report their findings in the form of guides or manuals; and perhaps, by stimulating a comparison of methods, help to further the adoption of those found to be most practical. In every country, therefore, this was the point of departure for actual work; although special monographs have not been written in every instance.

This first stage of the work upon the war history, dealing with little more than the externals of archives, seemed for a while to exhaust the possibilities of research. And had the plan of the history been limited to research based upon official documents, little more could have been done, for once documents have been labelled 'secret' few government officials can be found with sufficient courage or initiative to break open the seal. Thus vast masses of source material essential for the historian were effectively placed beyond his reach, although much of it was quite harmless from any point of view. While war conditions thus continued to hamper research, and were likely to do so for many years to come, some alternative had to be found.

Fortunately such an alternative was at hand in the narrative, amply supported by documentary evidence, of those who had played some part in the conduct of affairs during the war, or who, as close observers in privileged positions, were able to record from first or at least second-hand knowledge the economic history of different phases of the great war, and of its effect upon society. Thus a series of monographs was planned consisting for the most part of unofficial yet authoritative statements, descriptive or historical, which may best be described as about half-way between memoirs and blue-books. These monographs make up the main body of the work assigned so far. They are not limited to contemporary, war-time studies; for the economic history of the war must deal with a longer period than that of the actual fighting. It must cover the years of 'deflation' as well, at least sufficiently

to secure some fairer measure of the economic displacement than is possible in purely contemporary judgments.

With this phase of the work, the editorial problems assumed a new aspect. The series of monographs had to be planned primarily with regard to the availability of contributors, rather than of source material as in the case of most histories; for the contributors themselves controlled the sources. This in turn involved a new attitude towards those two ideals which historians have sought to emphasize, consistency and objectivity. In order to bring out the chief contribution of each writer it was impossible to keep within narrowly logical outlines; facts would have to be repeated in different settings and seen from different angles, and sections included which do not lie within the strict limits of history; and absolute objectivity could not be obtained in every part. Under the stress of controversy or apology, partial views would here and there find their expression. But these views are in some instances an intrinsic part of the history itself, contemporary measurements of facts as significant as the facts with which they deal. Moreover, the work as a whole is planned to furnish its own corrective; and where it does not, others will.

In addition to this monographic treatment of source material, a number of studies by specialists is already in preparation, dealing with technical or limited subjects, historical or statistical. These monographs also partake to some extent of the nature of first-hand material, registering as they do the data of history close enough to the source to permit verification in ways impossible later. But they also belong to that constructive process by which history passes from analysis to synthesis. The process is a long and difficult one, however, and work upon it has only just begun. To quote an apt characterization, in the first stages of a history like this one is only 'picking cotton'. The tangled threads of events have still to be woven into the pattern of history; and for this creative and constructive work different plans and organizations may be needed.

In a work which is the product of so complex and varied co-operation as this, it is impossible to indicate in any but

a most general way the apportionment of responsibility of editors and authors for the contents of the different monographs. For the plan of the History as a whole and its effective execution the General Editor is responsible; but the arrangement of the detailed programmes of study has been largely the work of the different Editorial Boards and divisional Editors, who have also read the manuscripts prepared under their direction. The acceptance of a monograph in this series, however, does not commit the editors to the opinions or conclusions of the authors. Like other editors, they are asked to vouch for the scientific merit, the appropriateness and usefulness of the volumes admitted to the series; but the authors are naturally free to make their individual contributions in their own way. In like manner the publication of the monographs does not commit the Endowment to agreement with any specific conclusions which may be expressed therein. The responsibility of the Endowment is to History itself—an obligation not to avoid but to secure and preserve variant narratives and points of view, in so far as they are essential for the understanding of the War as a whole.

J. T. S.

PREFACE

THE object and scope of this book are explained in the Introduction (Part I, especially §§ 5 and 8 to 11). It was originally intended to put forward chiefly a scheme for the Management of War Archives with some special reflections relating to the making of Archives in the future. The problem, however, when one comes to consider it in detail, does not work out exactly as might have been anticipated. The first question that suggests itself is—'Do we wish War Archives and the Archives of the Future to possess the same Characteristics as those of the Past?' If the answer is 'yes' (and I can see no other) a considerable part of that body of *things necessary for every War Archivist to know* which we wish to lay down must be the ordinary rules governing the administration of ordinary Archives. But here arises an initial difficulty: there is no complete treatise on this subject in the English Language;[1] or indeed in any language, for the well-known Treatise of Muller, Feith, and Fruin relates only to questions of Classification and Arrangement; and, moreover, there are certain aspects of that and other divisions of Archive Economy upon which I have ventured to think that an English Archivist might have a new point of view to suggest; notably in the matter of custody.[2]

Even the problems which seem at first to be peculiar to War Archives, or at least to Archives of the present day, turn out upon examination to be no more than intensifications of the old ones.[3] They actually cannot, in most cases, be properly understood except by an Archivist trained in the history of

[1] See Part I, § 6.

[2] See Part I, § 2 (*f*).

[3] In talking to American Archivists I have been particularly struck by the aptness with which their present-day problems may be illustrated from the history of Archives in England in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Archives of the past: just as no one can have a really sound knowledge of Elizabethan handwritings who has not come to them through the medieval ones out of which they were developed. There is, I believe, only one series of modern Archive questions which could not be answered—and answered best—by a properly trained Archivist drawing directly upon his experience with ancient collections: that is the series of questions referring to the relative positions of the Archivist and the Maker of Archives, and to Archive-making generally; in which cases a new point of view is possible because we can here, so to speak, get at the Archives before they are made.

Under these circumstances, however much I might desire to dwell upon the extreme importance of War Archives, I have found it necessary, in order to justify what I conceive to be the necessary rules, or rather principles, to be observed in their management, to begin with a general treatise applicable to Archives of all periods and illustrated from Archives of the Past. As a result the portion of the book dedicated to Archives of the Past may appear at a first glance to dwarf the final parts in which the special problems of the Present and Future are treated. But I cannot think that any other procedure would have met the requirements it was desired to meet; and I hope that this explanation may give it that unity in appearance which I am convinced it possesses in fact.

One other matter requires mention here. The principles and rules suggested are in all cases what I consider ideal ones. Naturally ideals cannot always be realized; compromise is sometimes unavoidable:[1] we seldom have the chance, for example, of securing ideal Repository accommodation in this country (we are too much hampered by our long Archive history and its remains); Archives have sometimes to be left under a bad arrangement fastened on them in the past; binding,

[1] Cp. the special proposals made in relation to War Archives, in Part V.

stamping, repairing, numbering—all the processes to which Archives are subjected, must be to some extent governed by circumstances. But the best Archivist is the one who frees himself most from circumstances and, knowing the ideal, gets as near as possible to it.

I have many obligations to acknowledge. A number of individual ones, together with those which I owe to various distinguished writers (such as Messrs. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, and some of the contributors to the work of the Royal Commission on Public Records [1]), are indicated in footnotes; though my collection of illustrative matter has been spread over so many years that I fear some acknowledgements may have been accidentally omitted—for which I would apologise in advance. I must record separately my gratitude to three colleagues at the Public Record Office, Messrs. C. G. Crump, M. S. Giuseppi, and Charles Johnson, who have read the whole or part of my proofs and made many valuable suggestions; to Mr. A. I. Ellis, of the Printed Books Department of the British Museum; and to M. Charles Schmidt, of the Archives Nationales at Paris.

H. J.

CHELSEA, 1921.

[1] I have been much indebted to many admirable articles in the Appendices, especially those of the Second and Third Reports. The Reports themselves, from an Archivist's point of view, rather suffer from lack of expressed Archive theory or principle: their appeal is more to the Historian.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviated References have been used :

D. K.'s Reports :—Public Record Office. *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London : 1840, &c.).

E. 401 (and other Numbers) :—Exchequer Records.

E. H. R. :—*English Historical Review.*

Hall :—Hall, H. *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge: 1908).

Johnson :—Johnson, C. *The Care of Documents* (S.P.C.K. Helps for Students of History : No. 5).

K.R. :—Exchequer Records, King's Remembrancer's Division.

L.T.R. :—Exchequer Records, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Division.

Muller, Feith, and Fruin :—Muller, S. ; Feith, J. A. ; and Fruin, R. *Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van Archieven . . .* (Groningen: 1898) : quoted in the French Edition *Manuel pour l'arrangement et la description des Archives . . .* (La Haye : 1910).

Palgrave :—Palgrave, Sir F. *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (Record Commission ; London : 1836).

Royal Commission :—Royal Commission on Public Records (1910). *First, Second, and Third Reports* (London : 1912, 1914, 1919).

T. R. :—Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt.

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

§ 1. *General Introduction*

It is hardly necessary to say that History, as it is understood now, has become very largely dependent on Archives. New varieties have been added to it, Personal Narrative or Political History making way to some extent for Constitutional History, Legal History, Economic and Social History, and finally Administrative History;[1] and it is possible that there may be others to come. This growth of scope has resulted largely from the opening up of new material and new possibilities by the recognition, especially towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, of the value of Archive sources, and by the gradual process of making them available—physically available to those who can spend time in Archive Repositories and Muniment Rooms and available to all the world by printed List, Index, and Calendar. Preserved oral tradition, contemporary narrative, comment and criticism, personal memoirs, official or semi-official compilations —these will no doubt continue to hold a position, often very important, among the sources upon which the ultimate historian draws for his final synthesis of the facts about any given period, movement, crisis, or relation. But it is more than doubtful if any authoritative historical work will ever again be published without copious notes referring to verifiable manuscript sources; and it has become a recognized fact that such a work must be preceded by and dependent on the cumulative

[1] In England Professor Tout's *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History: the Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals* (1920) comes recently to fill a gap beside Stubbs's *Constitutional History* and Maitland's work on the History of English Law; and the useful series of *Helps for Students of History* now being published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is supplying a number of short detailed studies.

effect of a quantity of studies by other hands [1] in which settled opinion upon comparatively small points is based upon the laborious examination and analysis of details in Archives.

If this is so it is clear that some of us should be concerned with the keeping of the Archives of the past and perhaps with the making of the Archives of the future.

§ 2. *What are Archives?*

We are faced at once with the necessity of choosing a nomenclature and fixing a definition. With regard to the name, we have a choice between *Records* and *Archives*. The first of these is highly technical and narrow in its correct sense [2] and exceedingly loose in its ordinary usage. There is little doubt that we must adopt the second—*Archives* [3]—which has the advantage of being common to many languages. Yet this too rather lacks preciseness in its ordinary use: no less an authority than the Director of the French *Archives Nationales* has used [4] the word as excluding among ancient documents only 'les œuvres historiques, scientifiques et littéraires, qui ont leur place, non dans les archives, mais dans les bibliothèques'; and another distinguished French author makes the difference between archives and documents mainly a matter of the

[1] 'The great man when he comes may fling a footnote of gratitude to those who have smoothed his way, who have saved his eyes and his time': F. W. Maitland on the spade-work of history, quoted in H. A. L. Fisher's *Biographical Sketch*, p. 36.

[2] 'An authentick and uncontravertable testimony in writing *contained in rolls of parchment and preserved in Courts of Record*,' is a typical definition. With this may be compared the carefully observed distinction (see below, App. V(i) (*k*)) between the *Clerk of the Pells* who *recorded* at the Exchequer of Receipt and the *Auditor* of the same Department who merely *entered*: this though the documents kept by the two might be duplicates. See also the statement made in the eighteenth century that an Office copy could not be made at the Treasury of the Receipt from the Archives of the Mint because these were not Records (Palgrave, vol. i, p. cxi).

[3] The use of the word has a respectable antiquity in England: for example—Sir Thomas Smyth, *De Republica Anglie* (London, 1583), p. 53, calls the Master of the Rolls *Custos Archiuorum Regis*.

[4] Langlois et Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, p. 1. Cf. the same author's definition in the *Revue Internationale des Archives, des Bibliothèques et des Musées* (1895–6), Part I, p. 7: 'dépôts de titres et de documents authentiques de toute espèce qui intéressent un État, une province, une ville . . .', &c.

subject dealt with.[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary*, while deriving the word from the Greek ἀρχεῖον, which is explained as meaning a magisterial residence or public office, gives the meanings of the English word as (1) a place in which public records or other historic documents are kept; and (2) a historic record or document so preserved. Here the absence of any distinction between a 'historic record' and a 'document' does not appear to be altogether supported by the quotations given, and in any case we are rather left where we were in our quest for a definition. We shall perhaps do best, keeping the derivation of the word in mind, to make one for ourselves by comparing in some well-known case documents which are obviously archives with others which are obviously not.

Thus in 1914 England broke off relations with Germany. The historian of the future who desires to write an account of that historic fact will, we may assume, examine the written information contained in various ἀρχεῖα, in the offices, in fact, of the various Public Departments of the time. He will find that he can draw from the collections preserved for its own reference by the Foreign Office the official copies of the Treaties which had at various times been made between the nations concerned; from the same source he will obtain the correspondence that had passed between Ambassadors and Secretaries of State; the Admiralty and War Office will furnish Accounts, Reports, Returns and Copies of Orders and Memoranda accumulated in preparation for a possible war; contemporary police arrangements will be revealed by a study of papers from the Home Office. These and their like are clearly Archive authorities for that historic fact, the Outbreak of War; and the quality common to all of them is that they are actual material parts of the administrative and executive transactions connected with it. The historian, coming afterwards, may examine, interpret, analyse, and arrange them for the purposes

[1] A. Lelong, article on *Archives* in the *Répertoire général alphabétique du Droit français* (1889), vol. v, chap. 1: cf. chap. 3, § 4. Note also the loose use of the words *Archivist* and *Manuscripts* in the Official Pamphlet of the Library of Congress (below, § 6 *note*). Monsieur Cuvelier, in his *Rôle des Archives* (Bruxelles, 1911), instances other definitions, all very loose and all different.

of his treatise: they themselves state no opinion, voice no conjecture; they are simply written memorials, authenticated by the fact of their official preservation, of events which actually occurred and of which they themselves formed a part.

The Reports, more or less unofficial, of speeches which commented on the situation in the House of Commons, the leaders in *The Times*, the official *communiqués* set out in the Press, the memoirs of the German Chancellor—these are supplementary evidences, possibly valuable; but they are not in any primary sense Archives.

On the one hand, therefore, we have documents which are material survivals of certain administrative or executive transactions in the past, preserved for their own reference by the responsible persons concerned: first-hand evidence, because they form an actual part of the *corpus*, of the facts of the case. On the other hand we have statements and expressions of opinion by persons who may, or may not, have been capable reasoners, in a position to know the facts, and unprejudiced. It is clear that if enough of the first class of these evidences survive and if he be able to appreciate their significance the historian will have in them material for an exact statement of the historic facts. Given the opportunity he will probably use both classes because he will want to know not only the facts but the circumstances of the case; but the first is indispensable.

(*a*) *The Official Character.* We have thus reached the first stage of our definition. Archives are *documents which formed part of an official transaction and were preserved for official reference.*

(*b*) *The circumstances of writing.* But now let us take a step farther. We excluded from the ranks of the Archives a copy of *The Times*. But this is not to say that *The Times* or any other written or printed expression of opinion may not under certain circumstances be included among Archives. For example, we may imagine a copy of *The Times* filed in the Foreign Office, with a note that the Secretary of State wishes copies (with or without correction) to be dispatched with covering letter to certain British Ambassadors: such a copy

would of course form an evidence of the activities of the Foreign Office in a certain direction.[1] It would seem, therefore, that our definition must include *both documents specially made for, and documents included in,*[2] *an official transaction.*

(*c*) *A definition of Documents.* It will be noticed that printed matter has become, incidentally, included among our Archives. The fact is that in modern times the word document, which we use in default of a better, is very difficult to define; and at any time the line between Documents and what are known in English Law as Exhibits[3] is an uneasy one to draw. Thus we cannot say that a document is something which gives information in writing; for the Record Office series of Port Books gives us examples where the mere formal title, or other identification mark on the cover, converts an absolutely blank book into a perfectly good Archive:[4] we cannot rule that to come into our purview a piece of printed matter must have some MS. added or attached; for the official copies of printed 'Acts' among the Records of the Colonial Office (not to speak of printed Proclamations[5] among the State Papers) are equally authenticated by the absence as by the addition of MS. comments. Again there is a case where an undoubted Archive consists of an old pair of military epaulettes; and among

[1] The distinction between the ordinary copy of the paper and one thus preserved in Foreign Office Archives may be seen if we imagine the comment of the Historian: 'the direction taken by popular feeling is clearly shown in an article which appeared in *The Times* on this date . . . that the Government was anxious to take full advantage of this is evidenced by the fact that the Foreign Secretary thought it worth while to forward a copy . . . '.

[2] We need hardly say that these partake of the character of Archives only as from the time when official use was made of them. Thus a document may be itself of the twelfth century but as an Archive date from the twentieth: cf. below, Part II, § 6 (*q*) and (*x*).

[3] The word Exhibit itself originally refers to documents, and the *Oxford Dictionary*, which quotes a use in this sense in 1626 (cf. its use in a statute of 14 Charles II), can only produce a quotation of 1888 for its use in the sense of material objects other than writings.

[4] *K. R., Port Books*: these blank books are a substitute for the more usual '*nil* return'.

[5] For example those which occur among the *State Papers Henry VIII* in the Record Office, many of which are known in unofficial copies in private collections such as that of the Earl of Crawford.

enclosures to letters, forming in each case an integral part of the document, the writer can recall portraits and other pictures, maps,[1] human hair, whip-cord (part of a cat-o'-nine-tails), a penny piece inscribed with disloyal sentiments and a packet of strange powder destined to cure cancer. The line between what is and what is not, by a little writing added or attached to it, converted into a document is one so difficult to draw, and the question of separating enclosed objects from the document to which they belong raises so many difficulties and objections, that probably our best course is to be dogmatic; including under 'Documents' for the purposes of our definition (i. e. as things admissible to the class of Archives) *all manuscript in whatever materials*[2] *made, all script produced by writing machines, and all script mechanically reproduced*[3] *by means of type, type-blocks and engraved plates or blocks:*[4] adding to these *all other material evidences, whether or no they include alphabetical or numerical signs, which form part of or are annexed to, or may be*

[1] Maps or Plans are among the most usual things enclosed in or annexed to documents, and examples might be cited from many classes of Public Records both ancient and modern, but especially such Archives as those of the Colonial Office and Treasury and the State Papers. To give only one instance, examples of printed maps of America, dated 1763, which have been applied to special uses and now form part of the Archives of the Treasury, will be found in T. 1/476.

[2] The Public Record Office collections alone oblige us to include parchment, vellum, paper, paper- and card-boards, leather of various kinds, wood, and varieties of woven material.

[3] For some notes upon the entry of printed matter into Administrative use in England see a paper on *English Current Writing and Early Printing* in the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society for 1915.

[4] Examples of Archives in type have already been given. Type-block is the term usually employed of printed letters as reproduced in the Elizabethan and later Writing Masters' Books. The writer has noted no instance of the use of such blocks amongst Archives, but it might quite well occur. The word 'engraved' is intended here to include all kinds of modern photographic processes in which engraving by acid is employed: but early examples of the use of tool-engraved plates for Archive purposes can be found; for example amongst *Bishops' Certificates of Institutions to Benefices* of the eighteenth century (e. g. Bishop's Cert. Bristol 25: which may be compared with contemporary MS. examples) and in early nineteenth-century forms used by the Commissioners of the Treasury in addressing the officers of the Exchequer of Receipt, by the War Office (e. g. in W. O. 25, 745) for Returns of Officers' Services, and so forth. Engraved titles and headings are not uncommon in the eighteenth century. Modern photographic process reproductions are common amongst the Copyright Records in the Public Record Office, but these are generally cases of 'annexing'.

reasonably assumed to have formed part of or been annexed to, specific documents thus defined.

We differ here slightly from the Continental Authorities who, in their definition of Archives, include maps and plans and the like, but make no mention of the case of blank books or of material evidences annexed, even fastened, to documents: they prefer, indeed, to separate these last and relegate them to Museums, a procedure to which we object because it cannot be carried out to its logical conclusion in all cases without damage to Archives or Archive quality.[1] We use of course the word 'annexed' literally as meaning something of a size to be fastened to or conveniently associated with the document to which it belongs. The distinction between what can and cannot be 'annexed' to a document is like all fine distinctions, difficult. Its particular difficulty may perhaps be illustrated best by a *reductio ad absurdum*. Supposing for example that a Viceroy sends home to the Secretary of State in England an elephant with a suitable covering-note or label; or supposing, to take a more actual example, that the Government of a Colony presents to the First Commissioner of Works in London a two-hundred-foot spar of Douglas Pine: the question may be imagined to arise: Is the spar 'annexed' to correspondence with the Government of British Columbia? Is the elephant attached to the label or the label to the elephant?

The answer to those who would put this dilemma to us in the present connexion is that the Administration would be obliged in all such cases to solve the question of housing—to send the spar to Kew Gardens or the elephant to the Zoo—long before the label or letter comes into charge of the Archivist:[2] the problem is an Administrative, not an Archive one.

(*d*) *Archives Public and Private.* But we have not yet done with our copy of *The Times*. Let us consider the case of an authenticated copy of that paper filed not in the Foreign Office

[1] It is quite opposed to the spirit of the rule (approved by all continental authorities) which bases all modern arrangement of Archives upon that of their original compilers—the *ordre primitif*: see below, Part II, § 6 (*r*).

[2] See below, the section dealing with the point at which his duties begin.

but in the Office of the Newspaper itself. This is obviously part of the Archives of the Paper. It is true that it proves no more than that *The Times* was published on a certain day and contained certain statements : but its archive quality is exactly the same as that of the Treaty Paper preserved in the Foreign Office ; it is as incontrovertible evidence for the History of Journalism as is the Foreign Office paper for the History of our Diplomatic Relations. It seems then that Archives as a term must be extended to *collections made by private or semi-private bodies or persons, acting in their official or business capacities.*[1] Local Authorities, Commercial Firms, the responsible Heads of any undertakings may, probably will, leave behind them Archives. Many, to quote a distinguished Belgian Archivist, do so as Monsieur Jourdain wrote prose.

(*e*) *When Documents become Archives.* We are progressing with our definition but we have not yet finished. It is clear that documents written in and for any ' Office ' are, from the time of their writing, ' Official ' documents and that others of external origin (letters received, for example) become ' Official ' as soon as they are taken in for ' office ' purposes. But we have not yet decided the point at which Letters or Memoranda cease to be *Office Files* and become *Archives.* Perhaps on account of a false derivation [2] the test of Archive quality has been generally taken to be that of age ; but a more satisfactory limitation would probably be the point at which, having ceased to be in current use,[3] they are definitely set aside for preservation,

[1] The word is also understood as including the documentary collections of private persons by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (§ 1) and by Langlois (article in the *Revue Internationale des Archives* . . . , quoted above) : cf. Mr. Gilson's notice of Mr. Johnson's book in *History*, April 1920, p. 42. Indeed the use goes back so far as to the remarkable Ministerial Circular of April 16, 1841, quoted by Bordier, *Les Archives de la France* (Paris, 1855), p. 8.

An interesting example of the formality ascribed to the keeping of private (family) archives in England in quite early times is supplied by the use of the formal word *irrotulatur* in a note in an *Inquisition post mortem* (37 Edward III, First Numbers, 98) ' et sic dies obitus eiusdem irrotulatur in Psalterio apud Midhurst ' : the entry in the family bible was, quite rightly, considered as an archive.

[2] The Greek word is ἀρχεῖον not ἀρχαῖον.

[3] Not necessarily ceased to be in use altogether. There are plenty of cases where documents have been drawn into the administrative circle again after a century or more of idleness : for example, see below, Part II, § 2 (*a*), *note.*

tacitly adjudged worthy of being kept. Unfortunately the time at which this occurs must obviously vary with circumstances. The closest definition, therefore, that we can use in this matter is to say that the documents are *set aside for preservation in official custody.*

(*f*) *Custody.* The last point needs perhaps a little extension. Indeed we shall do well to stress it, for it is upon this question of custody that English Archives and Archive practice may make some real contribution to the sum of Archive Science. How distinctive the question of custody is may be seen by contrasting the English *Deputy Keeper's Reports*, with their chronicle of severely official accretions, with the *accroissements* by gift and by purchase which occupy so many pages in the *Annuaire* of the Belgian State Archives.[1]

Are all documents which owe their preservation to an administrative or official quality in their origin Archives? Are the Additional Charters, for example, in the British Museum, the cream of so many private collections—are these Archives? they certainly were so at one stage of their existence: or are they to be condemned because they have slipped from that official custody? And what of the numerous collections of State Papers in private hands?[2] When the head of a London business firm buys in the sale-room a quantity of the Medici papers,[3] exported from Italy for the purpose, are these Archives? If the modern purchaser of an estate, finding himself also the purchaser of documents, presents a number of accounts, with wooden tallies attached, to an Anthropological Museum,[4] are these Archives? and if all these are Archives, whose Archives

[1] Compare, for example, the interesting *Archives de l'État en Belgique pendant la guerre, 1914–1918*, recently published under the direction of M. Joseph Cuvelier, with the 79th–81st *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.*

[2] See below, Part II, § 2 (*e*).

[3] Some of these documents, to which the owner, Mr. Selfridge, was good enough to allow me access, were certainly at one time a portion of the Archives of the business house of the Medici.

[4] The Science Museum at South Kensington possesses the only complete Exchequer Tally (stock and foil together) that I have seen; I believe there is also an Exchequer Tally in the Museum at Kew Gardens, and no doubt other specimens (Exchequer or private) are scattered in Museums all over the country and in private collections.

are they? if they are not, at what stage did they cease to possess that quality?

The position of *Records* of the Common Law in England may help here to clear our conceptions. There are many series of Public Records, preserved at the Public Record Office in London, of which certain numbers have escaped through various vicissitudes in the past into various private or public collections, such as the British Museum.[1] Now a certified copy from one of the main body of these in the Record Office would be received in any Court of Law as evidence of the transactions it records: for one in the British Museum to receive the same credence would involve almost certainly the production of the actual document in Court and certainly its support by a body of expert testimony to its authenticity. The echo of this legal point in a literary or historical setting may be seen in the case of the well-known volume,[2] part of the Accounts of the Master of the Revels, which was for a considerable time in the possession of the antiquary Peter Cunningham though it has long since been restored to official custody. No certified copy from this document is given by the Record Office without a statement of the above fact in its history and those interested in Shakespearian chronology are still disputing[3] (and unless some new external evidence is discovered will continue always to dispute) whether the entries on one page are or are not an interpolation by Cunningham. So great is the value of custody that the constant effort of private forgers in all periods has been to get copies of their forgeries enrolled in some public series, because they knew that the authenticity of the enrolment would never be called in question[4] and hoped that by a confusion of ideas the

[1] Examples are given below (Part IV, § 11, *note*) of State Papers which have suffered in this way. Here we may quote the recently discovered case of original Papal Bulls formerly preserved in the Exchequer of Receipt and calendared there by Stapleton in 1323 (see Part II, § 1 (*c*), *note*) which are now in the British Museum.

[2] Audit Office 3/908, No. 13.

[3] See Ernest Law, *Some supposed Shakespearean Forgeries* (London, 1911) and subsequent criticisms in the *Athenaeum*: with Mr. Law's Reply (London, 1913). The subject has again been raised recently (December 1920) in the *Times Literary Supplement*.

[4] Compare the forgeries of early Royal Charters enrolled upon the later

thing enrolled would pass uncriticized. As will appear later,[1] we do not wish to press for a purely legal definition of custody; but the above examples make it clear that Archive quality is dependent upon the possibility of proving *an unblemished line of responsible custodians.*[2]

§ 3. *Definition of Archives*

We may now attempt a definition which shall cover all the possibilities mentioned above. First we have defined a document as covering for our purpose manuscript, type-script, and printed matter, with any other material evidence which forms part of it or is annexed to it. A document which may be said to belong to the class of Archives is one which *was drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors.*

To this Definition we may add a corollary. Archives were not drawn up in the interest or for the information of Posterity.

§ 4. *Archive Quality and the Historical Criticism of Archives*

Outside this definition we have nothing but plain documents—pieces of written evidence each one of which must be

Charter Rolls, e. g. the Charter to Wikes Priory, the two originals of which (quoted in the present writer's *Palaeography and the dating of Court Hand*), whether or no they were prepared at the time of the confirmation of one of them by Edward III, are certainly not authentic productions of Henry II's Chancery. Another remarkable case in point is the document, now in the possession of Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, Bart., which purports to give the arbitrement of Edward IV, under his sign manual and privy seal, in the case of the Dacre Barony, or Baronies; and which was enrolled in Chancery, not without scrutiny, in the reign of Elizabeth. Had this been a normal Writ of Privy Seal it would have come down to us in official custody, whereas its authority, upon a point of some importance, must now depend upon the respective weights of its handwriting, which seems quite genuine, and other facts about it, which are more open to suspicion. See the article on *Barony Jure Uxoris*, to be published in a forthcoming volume of the *Complete Peerage* by Mr. H. A. Doubleday, to whom I am indebted for my acquaintance with a very singular document.

[1] See below, Part II, § 2 (*f*).

[2] On the subject of Forgery, see again § 4 below.

treated upon its individual merits by the historian or other student who would use it for his own purposes. Inside it, we are dealing with an enormous mass of documents which, however varied their origin and contents and the appeal which they make to students, however far apart their respective dates, have at least two common grounds upon which they can be analysed and tested, two common features of extraordinary value and importance.

The first of these features is *Impartiality*. Drawn up for purposes almost infinitely varying—the administrative or executive control of every species of human undertaking—they are potentially useful to students for the information they can give on a range of subjects totally different but equally wide: the only safe prediction, in fact, concerning the Research ends which Archives may be made to serve is that with one partial exception these will not be the purposes which were contemplated by the people by whom the Archives were drawn up and preserved. The single partly exceptional case is the one where they are examined for the light they throw upon the history of one branch or another of public or private Administration—the branch to which they themselves belonged. Provided,[1] then, that the student understands their administrative significance they cannot tell him anything but the truth.

Impartiality is a gift which results from the first part of our definition of Archives. In the second part of that definition we stated that Archives were preserved in official custody and for official information only; and this gives us the second of their distinguishing qualities, *Authenticity*. It would appear that not only are Archives by their origin free from the suspicion of prejudice in regard to the interests in which we now use them: they are also by reason of their subsequent history

[1] The proviso is, of course, sometimes a large one. For example, the series of *Receipt Rolls* of the Exchequer at the Public Record Office has more than once been used by students under the impression that they furnished a complete and accurately reckoned list of moneys received by the Crown: whereas they were in fact inaccurate and incomplete and at certain periods did not represent receipts. See the article on Tallies in *Archaeologia*, lxii, p. 367; and a continuation in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, xxv, p. 34.

equally free from the suspicion of having been tampered with in those interests.

The consideration of these qualities of Archives leads us on to that of the Historical criticism of Documents[1] in general. One or two special Archive points may conveniently be dealt with here.

In the first place, the possibility of forgery in the literary or historical interest may be practically ruled out: we have seen one example, or alleged example, it is true:[2] but forgery of this kind could not be of anything save the rarest occurrence, for it means that custody has been broken with the deliberate intention of falsification; and that this has happened in comparatively recent times—in the case of many historical interests which are of modern growth one might say in very recent times—and without the custodians becoming aware of it.

It is not to be supposed of course that forgeries of other kinds do not occur among documents which have come down to us in custody. They do; both actual fabrications of documents and cases where documents have been tampered with after the date of their writing in the way either of *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi*: indeed we have already had some examples;[3] and plenty of others might be found—forged Tallies,[4] forged Fines[5] and other forgeries, some of them discovered in their own day, some which it has been reserved for modern scholarship to detect.

Now, from the point of view of their writing there are, as

[1] My original intention had been to develop this at more length in an Appendix with special reference to Archives: but a recent publication (R. L. Marshall, *Historical Criticism of Documents:* S.P.C.K., *Helps for Students of History*, 1920) which puts within the reach of all students a convenient *résumé* of the conclusions of Bernheim, Freeman, Seignobos, and others, makes this unnecessary; especially as we should have been mainly concerned to point out that most of the critical tests usually applied to historical documents are not, in view of the qualities described above, required in the case of Archives.

[2] The alleged Cunningham forgery referred to above, § 2.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, the reference to forgery of Royal Charters.

[4] See an article in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, vol. xxv, p. 34: a recently noted example communicated to me by Professor Willard, of the University of Colorado, is in *Exchequer L. T. R. Memoranda Roll*, 69 (1297), m. 32.

[5] See a note by Mr. H. G. Richardson in *E. H. R.*, vol. xxxv (1920), p. 405.

we have seen, two kinds of Archives; those actually written by the persons who used them for the same administrative purposes which have caused them to be preserved down to our time, and those which were indeed used by those persons, have perhaps even come down to us in a copy by their hands, but which were written originally by some other persons and possibly in some other interest. In the case of the first of these classes we may once more practically rule out the possibility of forgery: the persons who wrote did so for their own reference and what motive could they have for deceit? It is true that we have cases where, as in the two examples of forged Fines quoted by Mr. Richardson, custody has been violated and forged documents inserted in a genuine series by persons from without; but these are altogether exceptional —it is noteworthy that both were speedily discovered and on the other hand that this class, perhaps the most commonly used of all Public Records, has yielded no other case of forgery to the examination of modern scholarship. In any case, given an unbroken custody, the possibility of forgery is practically *nil*.

Turning to the other kind of Archives, that of documents written originally by one person or body and preserved by another, we have not of course the same guarantee against forgery or tampering, because there are now two sides involved and either may have a motive for deceiving the other. Thus A., the body which preserved and was the means of the Archive coming down to us, may wish to foist upon B. the responsibility for a document purporting to be written by B. but really fabricated or garbled by A.: for example, the owner of a collection of deeds from other persons may quite well insert amongst them one forged by himself.[1]

On the other hand A. may have foisted upon it by B.

[1] To take again the example of the Fine, which was an Indenture made in triplicate, though it is, as we have said, so rare as to be almost impossible for a forgery to occur among the *Feet* (the parts of it preserved in the *Court of Common Pleas*), there were no doubt plenty of pretended second or third parts of a fine—forgeries—preserved in private collections (cp. again Mr. Richardson's article) ready to be used on any occasion when appeal was not likely to be made to the official collection.

a document which is not genuine and may innocently accept it and include it among its own Archives. We have seen already the case where forgeries of Royal Charters were presented to the Chancery for confirmation, accepted by it and preserved to us both as originals[1] and in copies by its own hand on the *Charter Roll.*

Summarizing, we may repeat that forgery or falsification is to be regarded as altogether exceptional among Archives. It is only to be expected (1) in the rare case where custody has been violated though the fact is not known, (2) where the Archive in question is not a single production but is of the kind made by one person or body and preserved by another. In such cases it is always open to the critic to ask if either party had any interest in deceiving the other. At the same time we are to remember that both parties had an interest in detecting each other's malpractices; and that neither had any interest in deceiving us.

§ 5. *The Duties of the Archivist*

The duties of the Archivist, as it is one of the chief functions of this volume to point out, become under these circumstances very obvious, at least in their main lines. They are primary and secondary. In the first place he has to take all possible precautions for the safeguarding of his Archives and for their custody, which is the safeguarding of their essential qualities. *Subject to the discharge of these duties* he has in the second place to provide to the best of his ability for the needs of historians and other research workers. But *the position of primary and secondary must not be reversed.*[2]

It is not his business to deal with questions of policy—to decide whether twenty thousand pounds, or one thousand or

[1] All early charters copied in confirmation have to be subjected to careful criticism owing to the ignorance of the clerks who copied them: cp. the case of the Wikes Charters already quoted. Compare also Ballard, *An Eleventh Century Inquisition* . . . (British Academy, *Records of Social and Economic History* . . . , vol. iv (1920), p. ix, where the ignorance of the Norman clerks of Domesday is illustrated.

[2] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 19. We deal with these duties in detail in Part II, especially §§ 3 and 5–9.

nothing should be spent on printing transcripts of his Archives; whether the student would be best served by having the Archives in a Metropolis, or in the Provinces; at what date modern 'confidential' Archives should be thrown open to the public. He will doubtless take an intelligent interest in such subjects, but as an Archivist he is not concerned with them: they are questions for Historians, Politicians, Administrators; whom, at most, he may advise.

We touch this point again later when dealing with the Secondary Duties of the Archivist.[1]

§ 6. *Illustration from English Archives*

If the duties of the Archivist are simple in broad outline they are by no means so in detail; and he can very easily by a very small ignorance do incalculable damage. It is therefore highly important that he should be supported by a theory based on the widest possible experience; and it is a distinct lack that England, a country which, by reason of its unrevolutionary history and conservative habits and in spite of a long period of neglectfulness, has preserved a greater number of long and continuous Archive series than any other in Europe, should have made up to the present so small a contribution to the Science of Archives. An official pamphlet published in America though in English does not refer to English Archives.[2] With the exception of Mr. Charles Johnson [3]

[1] See below, Part II, § 8.

[2] *Notes on the Cataloguing, Calendaring, and Arranging of Manuscripts*, published by the Library of Congress (Washington, 1913). The circumstances of the publication of this book give it naturally so much prestige that I feel bound to remark that among many excellent precepts it contains (especially in the part devoted to *Arrangement*) some statements and suggestions which are contrary to the experience and rules not only of English but of Belgian, Dutch, and French Archivists. The writer, though he alludes more than once to 'the trained Archivist', speaks throughout of Manuscripts and does not seem to be aware of any distinction between *documents* and *Archives*; for the latter at any rate one or two of his proposals (e. g. that of sortation by 'less expert hands' on p. 9) would be definitely dangerous—have indeed been proved to be disastrous in specific instances.

[3] *The Care of Documents*. I have excluded the *Reports of the Royal Commission* (mentioned below in another note) because they deal rather with special cases than with general principles and are, moreover, concerned as a rule more with national

(and his work is limited by its format[1]) no one has yet attempted to draw from the extraordinarily wide field of English Administrative History and Administrative Remains anything like a complete body of illustration of general Archive theory and practice. And the present[2] seems a favourable time for an attempt to fill this gap.

As we propose to illustrate throughout from English Archives we shall need for reference purposes a *Conspectus of the Divisions of Administrative Documents, Public and Private, in England.* This will be found in Appendix I at the end of the present volume. It distinguishes those used in our illustrations.

§ 7. *Standardization of Method*

We have been concerned so far to show that, within certain strictly defined limits, the word *Archives* is one of very general applicability. The circumstances which produce Archives being common and commonly recurrent in administration in all countries, and in all grades of administration, from the most private to the most public, it would seem, at first, easy to secure an advantageous standardization of all rules, great and small, for dealing with all Archives: some Authorities have aimed even at a standardization of terminology and of such small matters as the ways of expressing dates in inventories. This has been the aim of the learned authors of the *Manuel pour le Classement des Archives*,[3] and they have been so far

Archive policy than with practical rules for Archive keeping: though the existence of such rules may often be inferred from their recommendations.

[1] M. Langlois (*Revue Internationale des Archives . . .*, 1895/6, Part I, p. 9) in criticizing von Helfert's *Staatliches Archivwesen* (Wien, 1893) does so on the ground that it consists of 48 pages only; but Mr. Johnson has contrived to compress a large amount into 47.

[2] The reasons for the appearance of this book in its present connexion are dealt with below. The recent publication (1919) of the last of the three *Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records*, the Appendices of which bring together much information as to English Archives never before assembled, is another favourable conjunction; as is also, on a smaller scale, the much increased attention now given in this country to Librarianship and the inclusion of Archive Science in that subject.

[3] Muller, Feith, and Fruin formulate one hundred rules for classing and arrangement, each supplied with a considerable amount of illustrative matter drawn from the Archives of Holland, Belgium, or France.

successful that their work is the recognized authority in more than one country besides their own. It may be questioned, however, whether quite so rigid an application of principle is desirable, or at any rate possible, in all cases. They themselves, for example, have called attention[1] to the profound difference between Continental and English Archives caused by the absence in England of the disruptive and again assimilative influence of the French Revolution and of the circumstances which attended it at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries (the most formative period in modern archive history); and even in the case of the countries for which they particularly legislated they have found it necessary to recognize that compromise may in certain circumstances be desirable or even necessary. And there are other difficulties: in most countries (in France, for example, as well as in England)[2] the old methods of arranging and classifying have left their mark—a mark differing in different cases but unlikely in any case ever to be entirely effaced: again profound differences in methods of administration,[3] reacting upon the records which survive, must have some influence upon nomenclature and perhaps even on arrangement: and the same may be said of different systems of Archive organization at the present day.[4] Similarly between us and any complete standardization there rises, among other difficulties, the great bar of language: who shall translate satisfactorily into English, for example, the word *fonds*? and can we really, as a matter of practical policy, import into English archive practice the distinction implied by the use of the word *protocol*?

On the other hand the few great principles which have governed and must govern the making, and should therefore

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 36.

[2] The *Archives Nationales* still retain many traces of their old arrangement under subjects.

[3] The contrast between English Law and the various representatives of Roman Law is an obvious instance.

[4] The enormous number of authorities that control archive collections of a more or less public character in England at the present day, as shown by the late Commission's *Reports*, forms a good illustration of this point when compared with the centralized Archive Administration of (for example) Holland or Belgium.

govern also the classification, handling and use, of Archives cannot but be the same everywhere. It has seemed best, therefore, to the present writer to allow these leading principles and their corollaries to emerge from an independent examination into the nature,[1] the evolution,[2] and the stages in transmission [3] of Archives as they may be traced in this country, and, without any attempt at the formulation of rules which should cover all individual cases, to show how the same large principles may be applied, invariably, as criteria of correct procedure not only in the matters of arrangement and classification but upon any and every side of the Archivist's work—in his care for the physical state of his documents, his preservation of their moral qualities as Archives, his methods of listing, his procedure in calendaring and printing, his communications with the world of Research, and one other matter which is dealt with in sections 8 and 9 of this Part. In one or two cases (notably the question of custody to which reference has already been made) the result may be to lead us away from the conclusions of the Authorities of the Foreign School ; [4] and we may find ourselves dealing with certain matters which they have not considered. For the most part, however, our view should be the same as theirs though taken from a different angle. And if the Archivist is here provided with a general guide rather than a detailed set of rules at least we should be sure that no theories are enunciated which are not applicable to archive work in any country, nor on the other hand any first principles omitted. In most sciences and arts it will be found that special cases can be satisfactorily met by any one who combines a sound theory with ordinary common sense and both with practical experience. It is that combination that we wish to commend to the Archivist.[5]

[1] See above, §§ 2, 3, and 4, the definition of Archive qualities.

[2] See below, Part II, § 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, §§ 2 and 3.

[4] Where such differences occur they are generally indicated in the text or in footnotes.

[5] I had written the larger part of this work when my attention was called to the 'tentative outline' for a Manual of Archive Management contributed by

§ 8. *The appearance of this book in its present connexion*

The practical side of historical study has been much emphasized by the events of the last five years. From the naval strategy[1] of Great Britain at the beginning of the war to the work, largely historical, which preceded the Peace Conference[2] at the end of it, few important branches of war-time administration, whether on the military or the civil side,[3] have been without a trace of the activities of the Historian; and certainly none have omitted to bring themselves into that position with regard to History which is implied in the amassing of Archives. In England some Public Departments have gone farther and have experimented in the production of something more than the customary Blue Book. For the War Office and Admiralty to issue their own versions of the Military and Naval History of a war is no new thing; but the compilation by the Ministry of Munitions of an elaborate Economic Treatise, in the shape of its own History drawn from its own Archives, is distinctly a departure.[4] Such activities reflect the addition of a new series of Archive problems to the already considerable number which faced us. The fact is that the enormous stock of fresh experience which has been accumulated during the War and which will be material for the work of the future historian, not to mention students in other branches of learning, is hidden in a mass of documents so colossal that the question

Mr. Victor Palsits to the *Report of the Archives Commission* of the American Historical Association for 1913–14; published during the War this excellent scheme had escaped my notice. A manual completed on the lines there laid down should contain, when it is issued, a large amount of what the Archivist requires in the way of suggestion and precept. But I still venture to hope that the present book, based on those Archives which have inspired the work of so many American scholars, may be found to contain a point of view and illustrations worthy of some attention.

[1] Many of the volumes of the Navy Record Society bear directly on modern naval problems: cp. also the Official Publication of all the varying Logs of the Battle of Trafalgar.

[2] Cp. the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, now being published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs (Oxford, 1920).

[3] On the civil side an interesting example, in England, is the question raised by the de Keyser Hotel Case of the Government's right to commandeer houses in war-time: this is almost entirely an historical question.

[4] See below, § 9, note.

of their housing alone (apart from those of their handling, sifting and use) presents quite novel features.[1] Nor is bulk the only problem. The questions raised already by the introduction into administration of new methods of communication and of recording (the telephone, for example, and the typewriter) become now pressing. In fine, it is largely the addition of this abnormal mass of new Archive matter to our existing collections which compels us to face the fact that we must make at any rate a beginning of settling our archive problems, old and new, if we are to deal satisfactorily with the present and safeguard the future of research work.

§ 9. *A new Problem: the Making of the Archives of the Future*

It is, however, the chief claim of this work to its present position that it purposes to raise at least one new question in Archive Science; one which has up to now been little considered and for the forcing of which upon our attention these impossibly bulky War Archives are largely responsible. That question is the making of the Archives of the future.[2] Can we, faced with the accumulations which the War has left us and the difficulties they involve, leave any longer to chance the question what Archives are to be preserved? Can we on the other hand attempt to regulate them without destroying that precious characteristic of impartiality which results, in the case of the older archives, from the very fact that their preservation was settled either by pure chance or at least by considerations which did not include the possible requirements of future Historians? There is considerable danger that a periodical compilation made by an office from its own Archives *definitely for historical purposes*[3]—even for publication

[1] The Royal Commission (*Third Report*, vol. i, p. 38: cp. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 120 *et seqq.*) estimates that the bulk is as large as that of the total previous contents of the Public Record Office.

[2] Some indication of the existence of this problem appeared in an article in the *London Mercury* in April 1920.

[3] On the lines of the larger work above mentioned which is at present in hand at the Ministry of Munitions. Note that what is here said does not apply to a Summary or Digest made for Office purposes. The distinction is a delicate one but

—may come to be treated, by the uncritical historian, not as a guide, but as an efficient substitute for the Archives themselves. Can we prevent this and at the same time neutralize the threat of hopeless unwieldiness? If we can do something to solve this problem, which, by the way, is not entirely a new one though presented to us now in a new light, we shall have done something to earn the gratitude of future research workers.

§ 10. *Summarizing*

The first aim of this book must, it seems, be twofold. It is required to lay down in outline a plan of our duties to the Archives which have been left to us by the past; a plan which shall be conditioned entirely by their own fundamental characteristics. From this first process we are to draw certain general principles of archive values which we may attempt to apply to a new problem—the direction, without altering their Archive character, of the formation of the Archives of the future. Towards this end we have gone some distance by defining the word *Archives* and deducing from that definition certain ideas as to *Archive Quality*.[1]

§ 11. *War Archives*

When, not before, we have completed this double task, we may be able to touch upon an independent question which lies midway between the two just mentioned—the question of the treatment of those accumulations left upon our hands not by the past but by the abnormal events of our own times.

of extreme importance. See below, Part IV, § 12, the discussion of the character of the Register in a modern office. Of course the copy of an officially compiled History which is filed for Record purposes becomes itself an Archive from the time of filing: it is evidence that a certain Historical View was officially put forward; but not evidence of the Historic Facts.

[1] Above, §§ 2, 3, and 4.

PART II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVES AND RULES FOR ARCHIVE KEEPING[1]

§ 1. *The Evolution of Archives*

(*a*) *Primary Division of Archives.* The starting-point of the compilation of Archives in early times is an easy thing to imagine or even in the case of ancient collections to see in action. The official or responsible person—let us call him the Administrator—who has to preside over any continuous series of business functions, the manager of a small estate at one end of the scale, the controller of a kingdom's finances at the other, relies for the support of his authority on memory: so soon as writing becomes general in use he adopts the preservation of pieces of writing as a convenient form of artificial memory; and in doing so starts a collection of Archives. He avails himself of this convenience by preserving:

the *originals* of written instructions or information he has *received*;

copies of similar documents which he has *issued*,

and

memoranda (a diary as it were) of his own *proceedings*.

All Archives must necessarily fall into these three groups—documents which come into an office; (copies of) documents which go out; and documents which do neither, which circulate within it.

(*b*) *Earliest Archives: the File.* We see our Administrator, then, starting with the simplest of all Archive forms, a file; which we use as a generic term for a sack or box or hamper

[1] Where Archives are mentioned in illustration reference should be made throughout to the *Conspectus of the Divisions of Administrations and Archives, Public and Private, in England*, in Appendix I.

or other receptacle[1] in which are contained, or a string on which are threaded, a miscellaneous collection of scraps of paper or parchment of these three kinds.

In the case of English Public Archives, putting aside the contentious question whether we have or have not surviving fragments of Chancery Archives previous to the Enrolment period, we need go no further than to the famous *Dialogus de Scaccario* for evidence that this primitive state once existed in both the Chancellor's department and the Treasurer's. The Archives of the first of these, as they are known to Richard Fitz Niel, are the *contrabrevia*,[2] copies of those Royal Writs issued by the department of which it was desired to retain memory: in the case of the Exchequer the *Dialogus* gives us no hint, it is true, of a period when the *Pipe Roll* itself, the most venerable of English Records, was anything but a complete roll; and it is possible that this most formidable of Archives was born like Athena: but it does clearly indicate a period, before the Pipe Roll existed, when the records of the finance department consisted of no more than bundles of wooden tallies.[3] As to other 'proceedings' of the Royal Court in this country the writer has suggested elsewhere[4] that the beginnings of another most venerable series, that of the *Memoranda Rolls* of the Exchequer, may be clearly traced in certain very fragmentary pieces which have come down to us; and it is possible that the earliest archives of the third great division of Medieval Royal Administration—the Legal—were of a nature to include those filed *Feet of Fines* of which we have the first notice in connexion with the year 1163.[5]

So much for the second and third of our primary Archive classes (*documents issued* and *proceedings*). In the case of the

[1] White leather and other bags to hold records survive even now in many cases; the 'Hanaper' (hamper) gave its name to a whole Archive Department; and the Domesday and other chests are prominent features in the Record Office Museum.

[2] Oxford ed., p. 82. The *Dialogus* was written in the latter half of the twelfth century by Richard Fitz Niel.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[4] In an article on the *Financial Records of the Reign of King John* in the Magna Carta Commemoration volume published by the Royal Historical Society: the view is again supported by passages in the *Dialogus*.

[5] At a later date we get clear indications of an intermediate stage between Miscellanea on files and the fully developed and formal legal record, the Plea Roll. These may be found in the class which represents the 'Ancient Miscellanea' of the Court of King's Bench—that known as *Ancient Indictments*, which frequently contain fragments very closely parallel to the class of *Assize Rolls*, &c. For these see an article by Miss B. H. Putnam in *E. H. R.*, xxix, 1914, p. 479; and for the Fine cited here, L. F. Salzmann (*ibid.*, xxv, 1910, p. 708). On the subject of *Feet of Fines* see below Part II, § 2 (*c*), *note*.

first, that of *documents received*[1] by the Royal Court, we are on even surer ground. It is hardly necessary to offer any proof that from the earliest times such documents, in the form of a miscellaneous collection of isolated pieces, introduce something which may be called an Archive Class into the contents of the Royal Treasury. Such is indeed the normal procedure in all countries and all ages; as Palgrave reminds us in an apt quotation from the Book of Ezra.

But we have gone a little in advance of our theme and must turn back to a consideration of the next stage in Archive evolution.

(*c*) *Differentiation.* We come here upon the first of a series of steps in the evolution of Archives consisting of the separation of bulky or important classes from the main series of *Miscellanea* into separate files, boxes, &c. The very important single document may have a box or pyx or other receptacle all to itself, as is seen in various cases in the first of the Record Inventories printed by Palgrave,[2] cases which doubtless were a survival from still earlier times. Speaking, however, of the generality of Archives we may say that from an original collection not arranged upon any particular principle there will very soon be separated off such classes as by reason of their numbers or the fact that they are frequently required for reference are judged worthy of the dignity of a separate file.[3]

[1] On the subject of these early collections of Documents Received see Hall, pp. 13 *et seqq.*, with the Authorities there quoted: cf. Tout, vol. i, p. 69.

[2] *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (Record Commission, 1832): the Inventory here referred to is that of Stapleton, completed in 1323. The curious will find in this work some pictures of receptacles anciently used for the storing of Archives. The whole work, which contains specimens of English Archivists' work from the fourteenth century (Stapleton) to the seventeenth (Agarde) is of great historical interest to Archivists.

[3] An obvious class of these would be those writs which are periodically required for reference—the *contrabrevia* already mentioned, copies of Royal Writs issued by the Chancery which had some connexion with or bearing upon the Royal finances and would therefore be required at Audit. We may remark that once a class is thus differentiated it is a very small step, where the documents consist of copies or memoranda, from the making of such copies or memoranda on a series of scraps of parchment to their making upon scraps of an equal size which may be made up into a register or a roll: accordingly we shall presently find these *contrabrevia* taking the form of a roll.

(*d*) *Differentiation : continued.* Differentiation may be based upon either the form or the subject-matter of the documents in question, the word 'form' being understood in the sense both of physical shape and of diplomatic conception.

It is very possible that the irregular but large size of the *Inquisitions post mortem*, among the Chancery Records, the Escheats as they were generally called, was the original cause of their being placed in separate files : [1] it is quite clear, to take a later example, that the reason why, among the Archives of the African Company,[2] the *Journals* of Cape Coast Castle formed a large separate series while the *Day Books* of that and other forts in Africa lay hid [3] amongst masses of miscellaneous papers, was that the second of these series was contained in small paper-bound books while the first was an imposing collection of large volumes. An instance of differentiation based on another kind of form (the diplomatic form of the document) [4] is that of the earlier *Norman Rolls*,[5] which are enrolments of copies of such letters under the great seal as were *made and dated in Normandy*. While an example of differentiation based on subject-matter (and incidentally of a modern mistake in classification) [6] is supplied by the later rolls in the same class [7] (dating from the fifth to the tenth year of Henry V), which are rolls

[1] These documents, inquiries regarding the property held by tenants-in-chief of the Crown, take the form of writs ordering the inquiries to be made (these were returned to the Chancery after execution) and the result of the inquiries in the form of parchments of an almost infinite variety of sizes and shapes according to the amount of the property to be described.

That they occupied separate files as early as the reign of Edward III is well established. That other Inquisitions (such as those of the classes known now as *Criminal* and *Miscellaneous*) had their place on the Miscellaneous Files of the Chancery is equally certain (see Record Office *Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions*, vol. i, preface, pp. vii and viii). There is further an indication that this distinction of the 'Escheats' might occasionally be forgotten (*ibid.*, p. xii, the Case of the 'Proofs of Age' found in 1841 on the ordinary *Chancery Files*). A good example will be found in the same place (p. xiii) of the rise of a small class—in this case the *Inquisitions de Rebellibus*—to the temporary dignity of a separate file.

[2] The Records of three companies which traded to Africa under Letters Patent of Incorporation came into the possession of the Treasury and are now among the Archives of that Department in the Public Record Office : see below, Part II, § 2 (*f*).

[3] They have now been sorted out.

[4] It is possible that the *Inquisitions post mortem* should properly be assigned to this class.

[5] 1 to 6 John, Numbers 1 to 7 in the present class at the Public Record Office.

[6] See the article on the Records of John already quoted.

[7] Numbers 8 to 17.

of *matters relating to Normandy*; having no better connexion than the chance identity of name with the earlier Rolls.

It is worth while, in this connexion, to take a general view of differentiation in the Chancery. The original Miscellanea, or Files of Archives of all kinds, are split up into (1) Chancery Files—documents *in filaciis*—and (2) Chancery Enrolments. Amongst (1) we may distinguish Miscellaneous Files and Files dealing with particular subjects, while (2) immediately splits again into *Patent*, *Charter*, and *Liberate Rolls*, being rolls of three different kinds of letter under the Great Seal. Now note the progress of the Liberate Roll.[1] When we first meet it we recognize merely an enrolment form of the old file of *contrabrevia* already mentioned. *Contrabrevia* all take the form of letters close and it is only one step farther to add other letters close, not interesting the Exchequer, to those already enrolled, and our *Liberate Roll* becomes the *Close Roll* so well known to students in Record Commission and Record Office Calendars. But there is yet another step to come. The need for a roll containing only the Exchequer subjects is again felt and we get presently a new *Liberate Roll* split off from the *Close Roll*, which continues to exist separately.

By a further extension this new *Liberate Roll* has added to it copies of other writs of the same name authorizing the 'livery' not of moneys but of lands in the hands of various of the King's officials.

We have gone into this case in some detail because in it we may see that the process of bifurcation is always going on, being indeed a condition of healthy active life, just as reproduction and increase are conditions of healthy active life elsewhere. But we may see something else. Behind the newly-made series—in the case of the Chancery, the enrolments—there lies always a residuum of the undifferentiated, the old files, the classes which in the case of all English Medieval Courts have come to be known ultimately as the '*Ancient Miscellanea*': and these, too, continue capable of throwing up new classes, which in their turn may bifurcate and carry on the development. Thus the Chancery Files contained always a certain number of Petitions referred by the Crown to the Chancellor or addressed to him directly. These might or might not be formed into special Files; but out of them grew ultimately, some two hundred years after the system of Chancery Rolls had become an established thing, the great system of Equity

[1] *Liberate* is the name given to writs authorizing *delivery* of money out of the Treasury. The Liberate Rolls here instanced must be carefully distinguished from the series bearing, at any rate in modern times, the same name which was kept at the Exchequer of Receipt. This second series is interesting because it is made up from the same writs which gave us the Chancery Roll, but at the other end: i.e. the Chancery *Liberate* are rolls of letters *issued*, the Exchequer series are rolls of letters *received*; both are copied from the same originals.

procedure[1] at the Chancery and the great separate classes of files of *Chancery Proceedings*; which in due course themselves split up into divisions—the divisions of the six Clerks—besides throwing off all kinds of subordinate Archive Series.[2]

We are coming here to a fresh subject, that of the connexion between classes of Archives and classes of functions and functionaries in the Administrations which produce them. But before we deal with this it may be well to glance at the varying careers of all these generations of Archives.

(*e*) *The varying careers of Archive Classes.* While the original stock, the *Ancient Miscellanea*, continues to flourish and perhaps to throw out fresh branches, what may be the fate of its various offshoots? There are several possibilities:

(1) An archive class may die out with the circumstances which brought it into being.

Thus the presence of the Jews in England and the special business which resulted caused the appearance at the Exchequer of Receipt, where money was paid in, of two special classes, separated off from the normal series of Receipt Rolls—the Rolls of Receipts from Jewish Talliages and from other Jewish sources.[3] There was also a special legal Court, the *Scaccarium Iudeorum*, with Records which were probably[4] a differentiation from the contemporary *Memoranda Rolls*. Naturally with the expulsion of the Jews in 1290 all these Archive Classes lapsed. We have seen already a small instance of a short-lived Archive Class in the case of the *Inquisitions de Rebellibus*.

(2) A class may be reabsorbed into the class from which it was differentiated.

Thus in the period of Edward I and Edward II there arose gradually a habit of recording receipts from taxation separately at the end of the ordinary Receipt Roll; sometimes separate membranes were used and a separate roll resulted. Later these entries returned to the main roll.

[1] The distinctive feature of this Equity Procedure was that it began with a petition—a Bill of Complaint—addressed to the Chancellor.

[2] Chancery Depositions, Chancery Decrees and Orders, and the like.

[3] See an article on *Receipts from the English Jewry* in *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society, vol. viii, pp. 19 *et seqq.*

[4] This suggestion as to the origin of the *Scaccarium Iudeorum* has been made elsewhere but has not yet been fully substantiated.

(3) Some or all of the functions of an Archive Class may pass from it.

Thus of the various uses of the Charter, the most formal of medieval letters under the great seal of England, which are summarized by Hardy in his introduction to the *Rotuli Cartarum* [1] most, during the fourteenth century, passed to another form of Royal letter, the letter patent, with a corresponding modification to the *Charter Roll* and *Patent Roll*.[2]

(4) Occasionally a series may be replaced by another having apparently the same functions and differing only in name.

Thus the function of recording confirmations passed from the Patent and Charter Rolls in 1483 to the series of *Confirmation Rolls*, and these again gave way to the Patent Roll later.[3]

(5) A class may become itself so important that its original connexion with the parent stock is almost or entirely lost sight of.

Thus the *Exchequer of Pleas Plea Roll* (the Record of a Common Law jurisdiction in the King's Remembrancer's department of the Exchequer) was probably in origin no more than a section split off from the *Memoranda Roll*; but that origin (if it is the correct one) has become almost entirely obscured owing to its later growth and importance.

(*f*) *Differentiation of Archive Classes and the redistribution of duties among personnel.* All this changing of function is of course closely parallel to, in many cases directly caused by, changes in the staff of the Office to which they belong or at any rate in the allotment of the staff's duties. Nothing is more important in a study of the growth of archives than a study of the growth of the personnel of administration.[4]

[1] Record Commission edition (1837).

[2] Perhaps an even better example is that of the Close Roll, the chief interest of which in the time of John and Henry III is that it contains the King's personal letters. The custom grew up of enrolling on this private deeds (in consideration of a fee) for safe custody. Ultimately this became the sole use of the Roll, for which indeed it still exists.

[3] The Charter Roll finally lapsed in 1516.

[4] Professor Tout in his recent *Chapters in Administrative History* calls attention more than once to the necessity for a close study of appointments on the staffs of the various offices and the compilation of Lists of their holders.

New offices, as a rule, tend naturally and immediately (as we have had opportunity of observing in England during the recent war) to increase the efficiency of their internal machinery by increasing their staff; they always tend to rearrange and reshuffle duties as soon as they have had some experience of administration. Few things are so striking in administrative history as the way in which most high functionaries of our own day have developed out of very humble medieval beginnings.

Thus the keeper of the *Domus Conversorum* had added to his duties about the time of the expulsion of the Jews that of keeping the Rolls of Chancery; to-day the Master of the Rolls is titular head not only of the Chancery Records but of all the more important Public Archives of the Kingdom;[1] besides enjoying eminent judicial functions and position: the Chancellor of the Exchequer of our day is an obscure clerk, hardly worthy of mention, in the time of the *Dialogus*: what had been subordinate posts about the medieval Exchequer became the prizes of Prime Ministers' sons in the days of Horace Walpole. To these large changes of function the Archive changes are always, as we have said, closely parallel; but it is equally true that small changes in Archives generally connote some small change in the occupation of the places and functions of which the Archives are the visible sign. Probably the comparatively small changes in the functions of the various Chancery Enrolments are just as closely bound up with changes in the clerical staff as the appearance of the State Papers, so violently different in their form, or lack of form, from the executive instruments of earlier times, is bound up with the violent readjustment of the position and importance of the King's Secretary under the Tudors.[2]

(*g*) *Archives, Ancient and Modern, Public and Private.* It is important to observe that all the foregoing remarks, though we have illustrated them, for reasons of simplicity, mainly from Medieval Public Collections, apply equally to Ancient and Modern, Public and Private: there is practically—can be—no difference in the manner of development of functions and Archives which have existed *a tempore de quo non exstat*

[1] By this survival, together with a number of more or less chance circumstances, the present Public Record Office occupies the site of the old Rolls Buildings and Chapel: cp. Hall, p. 118, quoting *57th Report of the Deputy Keeper*.

[2] On the early history of the State Paper Office, see Hall, pp. 30 *et seqq.*

memoria, and of the statute-provided Administrations and Registers of later days. At most, the latter, having the benefit of many analogies to guide them, may start at the second of the stages of evolution we have noted: may skip the stage of *Miscellanea*. Thus Parish Registers for the entering of Weddings, Christenings and Baptisms came into existence without any noteworthy preliminaries as the result of Cromwell's injunctions in 1538: though even so, the Archives thus started have not been without important subsequent modification, notably that effected by the Act of 1812, which provided separate printed books for the three classes of entries—an obvious example of differentiation.[1] Similarly a modern business firm when it comes into existence will not experiment but will start straight away with such books as the analogous experience of countless other firms of the same kind suggests to be suitable. It is hardly necessary to add that it is immaterial for our purpose whether the Authority which calls such Archives into existence be internal or external, the head of an office on the one hand, or on the other, Parliament, directing by statute that such and such Archives shall be kept: by one process or another they come to life and, having come, live and develop along certain lines.

(*h*) *Order of Differentiation.* We have now two natural classifications of Archives. First, we saw that all Archives fall into three classes—things received, things issued, and proceedings: secondly, we found that they might be divided into two classes of undifferentiated on the one hand and on the other those which had been differentiated out, according to subject or form, into regular series. Whether these take the form of Rolls, Registers, or Files does not particularly affect us, nor alter the archive character of the documents themselves: for example Close Rolls have since 1903 taken the form of Books without causing any break in the continuous series running from the time of John to our own day. We

[1] For a convenient summary of the history of Parish Register Form see A. Hamilton Thompson, *Parish History and Records* (Helps for Students of History: S.P.C.K.), pp. 42 *et seqq.*

also saw that the process of differentiation is always going on—may affect a single set of Archives again and again.

It is to be noticed that these two classifications do not always work into each other in the same way: we cannot say, for example, that any one of the three divisions of receipts, issues, and proceedings is always the first to be differentiated off from a class which contains all three.

Thus at the Medieval Exchequer of Audit the two first series to be differentiated are the *Pipe Roll* (proceedings only) and the *Memoranda Roll* (which summarizes the whole business of the Department, In-letters, Out-letters, and Proceedings): the Chancery on the other hand appears to have differentiated first the Out-letters (copies, mostly on Rolls), then certain classes of the In-letters (returns to writs, on files); while no Proceedings appear as a separate class for quite a considerable time. Medieval Legal Administration in England for a long time differentiates little save proceedings (*Plea Rolls* and the files of *Feet of Fines*). Among semi-public and private Archives, *Bishops' Registers* show us, it is true, archives kept in a standard form, but the contents of the Registers are miscellaneous and a similar remark may be made of the *Cartularies* of private persons or Religious Houses.

(*i*) *The Hands of Former Archivists.* Before we conclude this section we must not omit to mention one further stage in the evolution of archives; the stage, or stages, of development through which they have passed in the hands of other Archivists before they reach us. Unfortunately the earlier custodians of the Public Records in England (for example) have not always been as reasonable as we could wish in their treatment of their charges. To take only one instance the State Papers[1] are known to have had one classification in 1545 and to have been re-classified by Sir Thomas Wilson about 1620 and again by Sir Joseph Williamson about 1680; they were then 'methodized' between 1764 and 1800; and between 1848 and 1862 came under the State Paper Office classification: all this before they reached the Public Record Office, to undergo arrangement there. This again is a matter we shall have to consider later; meanwhile we may remark that it is clear the very dating of a paper

[1] See Hall, pp. 134 *et seqq.*

or the identification of its writer may depend upon our knowledge of its whereabouts at a date far removed, perhaps, from our own, but equally long after its original compilation.

§ 2. *Transmission of Archives: the Question of Custody*

In previous sections we have dwelt upon the extreme importance, for the preservation of Archive character in documents, of the question of Custody. In Section 1 of this part we have seen something of the evolution of Archives and of the Classes into which they fell and fall; and in the last part of that section we referred to the stages through which any Archive Classes which are handed down to the modern Archivist may have passed in the hands of other Archivists, his predecessors. This may serve to introduce us to a consideration of the ways in which Ancient Archives have been commonly transmitted to our own times. Only upon a consideration of such details in Archive history can we found a system of keeping and classification which may be held reasonably safe.

(*a*) *Where the Administration which produced the Archives continues to function.* So long as the administrative or executive office discharged by the original owner of the Archives continues to function, so long may this 'Administrator' be considered to be undying. His successor or successors take over, by themselves or their deputies, his collections of written memorials and use them, when occasion arises, as their original compiler would have used them.[1] Thus the Heads of the Courts of Common Pleas and of King's Bench in (say) 1800 were the possessors of what we may call a joint official memory dating

[1] A good deal of the history of early consultation of Records is to be found in the case of the Public Records of England in the class at the Public Record Office known formerly as '*County Placita*' and now in the *Chancery Miscellanea*, being information transmitted to the Chancery by officials in charge of Archives elsewhere, such for example as Agarde and Fanshawe, whose signatures will be found in (e. g.) bundle 71, file 2.

A good example of early consultation of Ancient Archives was noted recently in a Plea Roll of Edward III's reign, which bears a note (the copy of a writ) as to its consultation added in 16 James I (*Chester* 29/67, m. 114: cp. *Curia Regis Roll* 160, a Plea Roll of Henry III to which are attached two writs of Edward III).

back to the twelfth century in the shape of the Archives now known as *Curia Regis Rolls*.[1]

(*b*) *Where a new Administration carries on the same functions.* But now let us take the history a step farther. In 1873 the functions of the two Courts we have mentioned were transferred to the Supreme Court of Judicature. What then happened to their Archives? Obviously they are transferred with the functions in question and start a new lease of life, the archive line remaining still unbroken, as a part of the written memorials of this new Administrative body.[2] A precisely parallel case would be (to take only one instance) the acquisition of an estate with its title deeds and other muniments from the family of A., which had held it for ten generations, by the family of B., which proceeds to hold it for ten more.

For example the Manor of Easter or High Easter, in Essex, originally in the possession of Geoffrey de Mandeville, passed through Beatrix de Say, his descendant in the female line, to Geoffrey Fitz Peter, through whose daughter it passed to the family of de Bohun, Earls of Hereford: after remaining in the de Bohun family for some generations it passed, again through the female line, to Thomas of Woodstock in 1371, thence once more through the female line to the Earls of Stafford after 1399, and thence, at the division of the Bohun inheritance in 1421, to King Henry V, who annexed it to the Duchy of Lancaster.[3] According to one account[4] it was again granted out by the Crown to the Duke of

[1] The earliest of these in existence dates from 5 Richard I: the *Curia Regis* was differentiated into two courts, known to us as the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, in the thirteenth century, from which date they have separate Archives.

[2] Another example is afforded by the Records of the *Office of First Fruits and Tenths* set up by Henry VIII after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. These records passed to the custody of the Commissioners of *Queen Anne's Bounty*, a body set up, on the authority of an Act of Parliament, by letters patent of Queen Anne. They passed again to the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls by the Record Office Act of 1838. They have now been classed as Archives of the Exchequer (First Fruits and Tenths Division), but one class of them continued in existence after the Act of 1838 (the *Bishops Certificates of Institutions and Benefices*) and these properly belong to the Archives of the Commissioners. See below, Part II, § 6 (*l*). the remarks on *Arrangement: Chief Principle.*

[3] Cp. Hardy, *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 179 and 182.

[4] Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 169; quoted by G. E. C., *Complete Peerage* (old and new editions). Dugdale's statement, however, rests on a sign manual of Richard III, which he saw '*in Castro de Stafford*', and, as in the case of a like docu-

Buckingham in 1483, but it is doubtful whether this grant, if genuine, ever took effect; if it did the manor reverted, on the Duke's execution, to the Crown and to the Duchy of Lancaster, with the estates of which it remained thereafter. A fine series[1] of *Court Rolls*, dating from so early as the reign of Henry III, has faithfully followed these wanderings and is now among the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office. Unfortunately for English local history private muniments have not always been handed over, when an estate was transferred, so punctiliously or carefully as in the case of these Court Rolls; as may indeed be seen in the parallel series of *Ministers' Accounts*, showing the administrative side of the same manor, which survive only from the reign of Richard II,[2] and in the even worse fate which appears to have befallen the deeds.

(*c*) *Where the function ceases but the Administration goes on.* So far there is little difficulty; but this does not exhaust the possibilities of the case. Let us now suppose that the branch of work to which a certain class of Archives is attached ceases altogether but that other functions of the same office continue. Thus the Court of Common Pleas, which we saw handing over its functions and Archives to the Supreme Court of Judicature, had anciently a method whereby the transference of land from one private person to another could be made a matter of record in the Archives of the Court—the process known as levying a fine, after a fictitious action in the Court—and a corresponding Archive class of Feet of Fines.[3] This process, and these Archives, were stopped by Act of Parliament in 1834, the other functions of the Court of Common Pleas continuing. Here, however, there is again no difficulty. The Head of the Court and his

ment already cited (above, Part I, § 2 (*f*)), there is no Public Record to sustain it. For the descent of the Manor see Morant, *History of Essex*, vol. ii, p. 455.

[1] It runs from 33 Henry III (*Court Rolls* 62/750) to 1815 (*ibid.* 77/975) with comparatively few gaps. Another well-known and fine series is that of the Tooting Court Rolls, now in the possession of the London County Council, which also date from the thirteenth century.

[2] Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, bundles 42 to 52 and 58 to 72.

[3] The existing class of these Feet dates from Henry II to William IV. The Record consisted of an indenture in triplicate of which the Court and the two parties preserved each one part. An interesting example of the transmigrations of private muniments is furnished by one or two cases where the muniments of the two parties having for some reason come into the hands of the Crown the Record Office is enabled to put together again the three parts: one instance is reproduced in facsimile in Johnson and Jenkinson, *Court Hand Illustrated*, Part II, plate XVII (*b*).

successors continue to hold, as part of their official heritage, these obsolete archives, the position of which as historical, and indeed as legal, evidence is not impaired by the fact that the Office of Cheirographer, and other offices formerly connected with the process, have ceased to exist.

(*d*) *Where both Administration and Function cease.* But now let us suppose that the whole of the functions of an Archive-owning and Archive-making Office cease simultaneously. In this case one of two things may happen. Either the head of the expiring office as a part, duly authenticated, of his official ' winding-up ' may transfer his Archives to the custody of some other Archive-keeping official. He may do this under instruction or upon his own initiative. Examples of Archives so transferred are furnished by the case of Copyright Records transferred to the Public Record Office when the Act of 1911 brought the old Copyright Administration to a close ; and again, in a still more remarkable degree, by the deposit in the same office of the Archives of an ancient Inn of Court (a private institution)—those of Serjeants' Inn, abolished in 1883. In these cases the Archives pass to a fresh stage of their history in new surroundings and with new connexions ; still, however, without any real break in the continuity of their custody, the Master of the Rolls being the Official Trustee, as it were, of an unlimited number of dead Administrations, statutory heir to their Archive-preserving functions.

Alternatively, as is the fortune of many manorial and other real property Archives in England in these days of extinction of manors and the disuse of ' long title ' to land, such Archives may lie, so to speak, where they have been left and await what fortune has in store for them. In such a case there will soon come a break in the continuity of their Archive history which no subsequent care in preservation can altogether bridge. The question of the fate of private Archives placed in such a predicament is discussed below.

(*e*) *Mixed Cases.* It is to be noticed that any two or more of these adventures may befall a single Archive or set of Archives at different stages in its transmission. This will occur par-

ticularly when an Archive preserved originally in one connexion is later made to serve a different Archive purpose.

Thus a Cartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey,[1] after serving its original purpose for two centuries, passed at the Dissolution into the hands of the Cromwell Family, who obtained a portion of the Abbey lands; it was later produced in evidence in a case in the Court of Exchequer and remained afterwards among the Archives of that Court; and it has now been transferred, with other Archives of the same Court, to the custody of the Master of the Rolls.[2] A similar cartulary of the Abbey of Chertsey is less fortunate and its present archive quality must be held to date only from 1653 when it came to the Exchequer through Sir Henry Spiller, who had recovered it from the hands of 'Mrs. Coggs of Egham', who almost certainly had no title to it.[3] Cases of change of custody of this kind are particularly common where an Archive at a more or less late stage of its career is used as a voucher to a Public account[4] or an exhibit in a suit: and we have also the contrary case where what should have been Public Archives come down to us in private collections,[5] but still with a certain Archive quality. Yet another survivor from the dissolution of the Monasteries, the Cartulary of Pershore Abbey,[6] owes its present position to a different chain of adventures: it was bought in Fleet Street in 1598 by one William Bell, who has appended a note describing the transaction; and was subsequently deposited by Fulk Greville with William Mynterne, Keeper of the Records at the Augmentation Office, becoming a Public Record as from June 20th, 1620: of the transitions from its original owners to Bell and from Bell to Greville nothing is known.

(*f*) *Custody: what is a Responsible Person?* We have seen

[1] Printed in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials*: see the Introduction to that edition, p. vii.

[2] *K. R. Misc. Books*, No. 28: the Chertsey Cartulary is No. 25 in the same series.

[3] Surrey Record Society, *Chertsey Cartulary* (London, 1915), p. vi.

[4] Cp. an Exchequer Case noted in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. xxvi, p. 36. The class of *Exchequer Accounts* (*K. R.*) in the Public Record Office is full of such examples.

[5] The quality of many of the great collections of State papers not in the Public Record Office to which the Historical MSS. Commission's Reports introduce us is of course that of private Archives: such are the Cecil Papers still at Hatfield House, the Collections of the Duke of Leeds (mentioned in another connexion below, Part II, § 6 (*y*)), the Elizabethan Musters so frequently found amongst Private Muniments (e. g. those in the Losely MSS. printed by the Surrey Record Society), and many others.

[6] Now Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, 61: see again as to this book, Part II, § 6 (*z*).

that the original custodian of Archives is some person connected with the Administration which produced them : we have seen also that the administrative functions and the Archives may be transferred to a totally different administrative authority without the Archives losing their character ; nay, the functions may lapse and the Archives be taken over by some person or office totally unconnected with them and yet the chain of custody remain unbroken.

A final example shows all these processes occurring, that of the African Company : [1] in this case the Archives of the first Company (incorporated 1662) passed to the second Company (incorporated 1672), whose collections passed in turn to a third with a quite different constitution (incorporated 1750) : upon the abolition of this last Company by Act of Parliament in 1820 its Archives passed to the Treasury : and they are now in the Public Record Office with the Archives of that Department.

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the criterion of custody ? It would seem that the custody of any given person or official must not cease without his expressly handing over his functions as Archive-keeper to some other responsible person. But this merely leaves us the task of defining a ' responsible person '.

It is at this point that, for Archive purposes, we must part company with the legal definition of custody.[2] The matter is one for a separate section, but an example may make clearer what is the exact point to be discussed. The writer was recently confronted with the case where a Public Librarian had, for the safety of the document, accepted custody of an old Parish Register. Now although from a legal point of view this Archive would certainly have lost evidential value in passing from the custody of its proper guardian, the Rector of the parish, was it not arguable, historically speaking, that if the book had been handed over upon an undertaking that certain forms of custody should be observed its archive quality might be reasonably

[1] For a note on the Archives of this Company see *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. vi, pp. 185 *et seqq.*

[2] See above, Part I, § 2 (*f*).

assumed to be intact? In point of fact in the particular case instanced the book proved to have been, amongst other adventures, through at least one Sale Room [1] and the question of continuous custody could no longer arise. But in other cases it might—and does—arise, and it will be well for us to be prepared with an answer.

§ 3. *What is an Archivist?*

Here, put baldly, is the real point at issue. So far we have classed as an Archivist (by the terms of our definition of Archives) either the person who takes over, by himself or his deputy, as part of the legitimate inheritance of an office he fulfils the written memorials of its activities in the past, or, as in the case of an official of the Public Record Office, a person charged with the duty of receiving from the functionaries of (sometimes) expiring other institutions the inheritance for which there will be no direct heir, a kind of Public Trustee. The question now arises—supposing there is neither heir nor any one willing to take the first step of depositing, can the Public Archivist go out of his way and intervene uninvited to save the life and character of the Archives? More important still, since the official Archivist has very generally his hands full, can any public body, not being an official receiver of other people's Archives, constitute itself an Archivist *ad hoc*? And, if so, upon what conditions?

There are numerous and valuable classes of Archive collection in England, and no doubt elsewhere, in the case of which such action would undoubtedly be desirable, but it will be sufficient to take one as an example. Owing to the modern legislation [2] by which only proof of 'short title' is now required in the transference of real property, collections of old deeds formerly preserved for a practical legal purpose (that of showing title) have ceased to have any *raison d'être* save an historical one. The result is that they are perishing daily in the lumber rooms of

[1] Compare the case of the Pershore Cartulary, cited above, (*e*).
[2] The Conveyancing Act of 37/38 Victoria.

solicitors and the like places ; or, dragged out of those doubtful refuges, are being dismembered, sold (whether to the antique dealer or the glue merchant or the Museum) and dispersed. Merely to save archives so important for local history by offering them an asylum is a work of piety and usefulness ; but the question may also be raised whether they (and, consequently, any other collections of unwanted Archives which may be found anywhere in a similar plight) can be preserved with full status as Archives.

We make no apology for emphasizing this most important point. Here is no question of legal transfer as in the case of the Common Pleas Records instanced above ; no question of the last official of a vanishing Administration deliberately handing over custody (as in the case of the Copyright Records already cited) to a competent authority, i.e. to one already functioning as an Archive-keeper. It is the case of the Archivist making the first move, intervening in order to preserve : or even of a suitable public body constituting itself an Archivist for the purposes of the case.

It is the undoubted duty of the Official Custodian of Archives which regularly accrue [1] to remind the depositing Administration of his existence from time to time and to offer any useful suggestions.[2] The question is—can we also lay it down that a Public Authority not primarily concerned with the keeping of any Archives save its own may declare itself a responsible custodian prepared to take over such archives as those referred to above and not merely to keep them safe but to give them continuous custody ? Such a course may obviously be most desirable, and it seems to the present writer equally obvious that such an authority may perfectly well take it under certain conditions, conditions which will ensure the continuance of such a measure of custody as would have been the portion of the Archives had they been and remained intensely important for the practical purposes of administration.[3]

Let us put down, then, here the conditions which would

[1] e. g. the Records of the Supreme Court which are deposited at regular intervals at the Public Record Office.

[2] See below, Part IV, § 13.

[3] See also the note on foreign practice in this matter in the next section.

make a collection of private deeds or papers taken over by (say) a Public Library as safe physically and as secure in their reputation for impartiality and authenticity as the Muniments of the Crown, preserved once in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster and now in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane.

(1) There must be reasonable probability of the Authority's own continued existence. Thus a Borough Library or a County Muniment Room is a stable thing: it is hardly conceivable that such Authority should come to a sudden end, without at least handing over its functions to a regular successor.[1]

(2) The Archives must be taken over direct from the original owner or his official heir or representative.

(3) The authority taking over must be prepared to subscribe to the ordinary rules of Archive management directed to the preservation of Archive character. What these are in the matter of safety, custody, and methods of arrangement we have tried to indicate in §§ 5 and 6 of this part of the present work; but we may notice one in particular here.

(4) In all cases, then, the Authority taking over must be prepared to take over *en bloc*: there must be no selecting of 'pretty' specimens.

It is not to be said, of course, that short of these conditions no one may house and preserve documents which would otherwise be derelict; but it seems clear that, with them, all conditions of Archive value may be preserved so far as concerns the Research worker. A good example of the preservation of private collections in some such way as the above is furnished by the case of the Watt Papers now in the Birmingham Free Library.[2] These do not entirely fulfil our conditions, for they

[1] It is at this point that we note the extreme importance from our point of view of the arrangement by which the study of Librarianship in this country is now made to include some study of Archive Science. The first important step towards the proper conservation of private and local muniments in England was probably taken when the Library Association decided to include this study in the training of the Librarian.

[2] I am indebted for the details of this example to my former student, Mr. L. Chubb, of the Birmingham Free Library.

were purchased by a private owner when the works closed down about 1893, though up to then custody had been continuous; and only acquired by the Library in 1911. They have, however, been preserved from dispersal. In many counties also the voluntary effort of Local Authorities [1] or Local Societies is doing something to rescue private muniments from destruction if not always from the loss of their archive characteristics. If the present note does anything to increase such activities it will have been useful.

§ 4. *Archives and Museums*

The rule as to taking over *en bloc* will, it may be feared, be one that rules out Museums in many cases. The British Museum, for example, has a collection of Administrative documents which is formed out of the wreck of hundreds of earlier sets of muniments: an interesting, valuable, and beautiful accumulation [2] which is, of course, admirably selected and most carefully conserved. No Archivist could wish (it is almost superfluous to say) for better guardianship or custody than these documents receive. At the same time no Archivist, even in the cases where these documents have been taken over direct from the original owners [3] and custody has consequently been preserved unbroken, could possibly allow full Archive value to documents which have been violently torn from the connexion in which they were originally preserved, a connexion which in nine cases out of ten is important, if not vital, for the full understanding of their significance.

Museums are naturally restricted to preserving Museum specimens and it may be questioned, therefore, whether an

[1] The collections, to take one example, of the Bedfordshire County Council include, I understand, much beside the Records in the statutory keeping of the Clerk of the Peace and the Clerk to the County Council.

[2] For a general summary of this collection and an explanation of its existence see Sir Frederick Kenyon's note in the Royal Commission's *First Report*, vol. ii, pp. 25, 26.

[3] In many cases, of course, they have been obtained through the Sale Room. If an Archivist may venture to offer a suggestion to Museums in general it would be well if, in their Catalogues, they informed students in every case of the provenance of the documents described.

ideal arrangement would not be one by which they took over only isolated specimens whose connexions were already lost, leaving the Archivist to deal with all more or less intact collections.[1] There can be no doubt that the latter should not, if he can help it, take in, by way of gift or otherwise, documents which have not an Archive quality, saving where they are strays which fill gaps in existing series and can be preserved accordingly, *with a suitable distinguishing mark*,[2] in company with the others to which they historically belong. Thus the deposit of the Rodney Papers and the Chatham MSS.[3] at the Public Record Office may be justified on the grounds of Archive quality, though in view of the character, strictly relating to Public Administration, of the other Archives preserved there, the policy is perhaps doubtful. There can be no reasonable ground for the gift [4] of a single Saxon charter being made to that office instead of to the British Museum.[5]

We cannot close this section without a word as to the foreign practice in regard to the matter of which we have been speaking. We have already indicated that one of the main distinctions between English and foreign Archive practice lies in the emphasizing of Custody in this country; and have given reasons for thinking that this emphasis is by no means undue.[6] We are bound therefore to note here that the practice of French, and still more of Belgian, Archivists in the matter of the reception into their Archives of documents of both public and private nature from all kinds of sources goes quite contrary to

[1] Since this passage was written the question has been specifically raised in connexion with the breaking up of large estates in England at the present time and the consequent possible danger to their Muniments, by a letter to the newspapers from the Director of the British Museum, in which the policy of selection is incidentally stated. See *The Times*, August 20, 1921, and a letter on the subject by Mr. Minet published in the same paper on August 23.

[2] At the Public Record Office such recovered strays are stamped with a special inscription 'some time out of custody'.

[3] The first were deposited by Mr. Harley Rodney in 1906; the second by Admiral Pringle in 1888.

[4] There is one such in the 'Miscellaneous' section of the *Deposited Documents*.

[5] For an early example of a private archive deposited in a Public Record Office see the case of the Pershore Abbey Cartulary, quoted above, Part II, § 2 (*e*).

[6] Above, Part I, § 2 (*f*).

our doctrine. Not content with receiving deposits of private archives from their original owners (which, as we have suggested, may be a very desirable course under certain conditions), the Belgian authorities apparently buy isolated specimens on a large scale: their Archives, in fact, represent a kind of combination of the British Museum Manuscripts and the Public Record Office Archives. No doubt the accession numbers given to all such *accroissements* distinguish them adequately, for those who like to probe deeply enough into the Official Reports, from the genuine Archives; but we cannot help regretting that an Archive Service which is regarded as one of the first in the world should in this matter deviate from one of the chief principles laid down in the *Manuel*—that for the Archivist, Archive interests should be primary and Historical ones secondary. For with all respect to the eminent authorities of the Belgian Archives, we cannot think that a stray paper from some dispersed family collection, itself picked up in a sale, is a fit inmate for a National Archive Establishment.[1]

§ 5. *The Primary Duties of an Archivist:* (i) *Physical Defence of Archives*

In dealing with these we must premise that we are concerned with the Archivist at present only as a person owing service to the past and to the memorials of the past. What, if any, should be his relations to Administrators now engaged in compiling the Archives of the future or to those who may come after them is a question we shall have to put and answer later. Up to now we are concerned with his duties to the more or less formed collections of Archives that he has already taken over. These duties, it may be recalled, we have already[2] divided into Primary and Secondary: the first being his duties towards the Archives themselves; the second (to be considered only when the first have been satisfactorily discharged) his duties in the matter of publication and generally making avail-

[1] See the various sections showing such accessions in *Les Archives de l'État en Belgique pendant la guerre.*

[2] Above, Part I, § 5.

able for use by students. The subject being somewhat long we propose to treat these two varieties of duty under separate sections, and moreover to divide the first again into two parts. In effect it is obvious that duties to the Archives themselves consist in their defence against all kinds of dangers; but these dangers fall into two clearly defined classes, Physical and Moral. The present section will accordingly treat of the first of these—the Physical;[1] which are mainly external, i. e. proceeding from sources other than the Archivist himself.

'There is a fower-fould hurte', said Agarde,[2] writing in 1610, 'that by negligence may bringe wracke to records; that is to say Fier, Water, Rates and Mice, Misplacinge.' The summary is not, perhaps, quite complete from a modern point of view, but may serve as a text to our notes on the physical dangers against which Archives are to be defended.

(*a*) *The Repository.*[3] From the point of view of *safety from fire and damp* the Archivist, if he has the supervision of construction, should have, with the modern resources of asbestos, steel, stone, and concrete[4] at his disposal, little difficulty. The chief danger in fact is not lest the building itself, in such a case, should catch fire or suffer from damp but lest neighbouring buildings should catch fire and by their collapse, by flying fragments of flaming material, by the mere heat generated in their burning, or by the water poured in to save them, damage the Repository or its contents. It is easy, in fact, to specify for

[1] Many of these have been admirably dealt with by Mr. Johnson and are only recapitulated here for the sake of completeness and because the present treatment of the subject demands a different arrangement. Much information on the subject will also be found scattered in the Reports of the late Royal Commission on Public Records, especially in the appendices dealing with the visits of Commissioners to various foreign and other Archive Repositories.

[2] Palgrave, vol. ii, p. 313.

[3] On the subject of Foreign Archive Repositories see the Royal Commission's *First Report*, vol. ii, pp. 130, 140, &c.; especially concerning the Provincial Archives at Antwerp and the Town Archives at Rotterdam: together with various articles there quoted.

[4] Steel and stone or concrete construction for buildings is naturally indicated and steel or iron and slate may serve for a considerable part of modern library fittings. The National Library of Wales has adopted the plan of wooden doors lined with asbestos.

a fire-proof and damp-proof building, and the Archivist's chief trouble will probably be to secure that the Repository shall be sufficiently isolated from other buildings.[1] At the same time no precautions in the way of hose and sand apparatus, fire alarms, *direct* telephonic communication with the Fire Brigade, and a regular Fire Drill for the staff should be omitted.

After our experience in the late war of the penetrating power of heavy bombs dropped from aircraft, it is doubtful whether any provision can be made against such a danger, these bombs being generally fitted with a 'delay action fuse'; but some form of 'arresting' and 'bursting courses' in the shape of stone or concrete roofs and floors would at least do no harm.

Heating, which must be thoroughly efficient, is probably best supplied by hot-water pipes, with a furnace outside the building; and *lighting* by electricity, all wires being enclosed in external metal pipes. For special cases portable electric stoves may be useful: but it is to be noticed that for the most part documents need not warmth but dryness; and this should be assured once and for all.

Possible *burglary* will be provided against, presumably, by the usual means and by either an efficient patrolling during off-hours or by a very carefully devised system for the custody of keys; none of which, saving external ones (and those only in the custody of selected officials), should be allowed to go outside the building. At least one person officially connected with the Archives should always be within reach in case of an emergency.[2]

If the Archivist has not the supervision of construction and must utilize an old building, he can only endeavour to incorporate as many of the above features as possible and increase,

[1] Cf. on this and some other Repository questions M. Joseph Cuvelier in the *Bibliographe Moderne* (1909), pp. 241 *et seqq.*, and an article by Mr. Louis A. Simon in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1916, p. 147.

[2] It follows that in the case of a large Repository there should be an official residence annexed to, though separate from, the Repository. The policy of separating all staff quarters from the Repository is a good one because it renders unnecessary certain restrictions upon the staff in the matter of fires, &c. Except for this reason I am not disposed to consider it so essential as do some authorities; and it is not always compatible with convenience in working.

if possible, all precautions and supervision. He should clearly, in such circumstances, pay particular attention to the question of the accessibility of his more important archives, to schemes for evacuation in case of need (having special regard to windows which can be opened easily, widely and outwards), and to the ready availability, for those responsible, of information as to the whereabouts of particular classes of Archives.

(*b*) *The Repository* (*continued*). Of other considerations in the planning of repositories perhaps the most important is that of *Air*, which is the best of all preservatives of parchment and paper.[1] It should be possible to secure at will a through draught in any room or space in which documents are stored ; and provision should be made for this being utilized as often as possible. If it is absolutely necessary even considerations of Cleanliness, as we have pointed out elsewhere, must come second to this of Air. So true is this that in some situations where dust and dirt are acute problems the experiment has been tried (as at the John Rylands Library in Manchester) of filtering the air through cotton waste or other material: though if this is done the screens presumably need very frequent cleansing or renewal.

Light is also valuable, though it is not wise to expose documents too much to the direct rays of the sun because of their possible effect in ' fading ' the ink or warping the parchment or paper. Too much sunlight is also definitely harmful to leather bindings.

Cleaning space should always be left on every floor into which documents can be removed while their place is being cleaned, painted, &c.[2] No large collection should be without the installation of a vacuum cleaner, with brush attachment, for the cleansing of the parcels, &c., themselves : though dirt, of course, is a danger of varying intensity[3] according to the situation of the Repository.

[1] Particularly fine provision for Light and Air is made in the storing accommodation of the new National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth : but most Archivists cannot command unlimited space.

[2] The best system of cleaning for a large Repository is one of regular rotation by which one space on each floor is always empty and in process of being cleaned, &c.

[3] On the subject of *air* and of *dirt* see also below, the remarks as to *receptacles*.

Convenience in working should be consulted by the provision, first, of easy means of communication between all parts of the building; second, of a space (capable of being locked up) reserved for reception, sortation, stamping and numbering; third, of lifts, in the case of large buildings, placed centrally and capable of accommodating a man and a barrow (a lock-up Lift-Room at top and bottom is also a desirable feature); and fourth, of accommodation for students in a like central position. All these things make for a decrease in the handling and a consequent increase in the safety of documents.

(*c*) *The Repository: provision of accommodation for students.* Since this subject has been mentioned, it may be worth while to mention one or two notable requirements. Natural light should come, in as large quantities as possible, from one side, the left, of the reader (so that no shadow is cast by his writing hand): the ideal would probably be a long room having one side almost entirely of windows, from which narrow tables (with the students' chairs on one side only) should project not quite at right angles, so that every one sat slightly in advance of his left-hand neighbour. Overhead lighting is not desirable [1] if good side-lighting can be obtained. It is important that handling and rubbing of documents should be minimized, and therefore stands for volumes (and, if possible, special stands for rolls and other particular forms of documents) should be provided and their use made obligatory. Artificial light should take the form of shaded electric lights which can be lowered to within a few inches of the documents. Shelves for Indexes and Reference Books [2] are as obvious a provision as tables and chairs. Other arrangements with regard to the use of archives by the public are mentioned below.[3]

[1] The two chief Search Rooms at the Public Record Office afford an opportunity of comparing the two methods of lighting. The overhead lighting of the Literary Search Room has been praised by more than one foreign authority (e. g. M. Cuvelier, *op. cit.*), but there is no doubt that the side-lighting from the readers' left hand, if it can be obtained in sufficient strength, is better. It might possibly be supplemented by partial overhead lighting, the side windows being continued as it were in a roof the lower edge of which was glazed.

[2] A rough sketch of an Archivist's Minimum Bibliography is attempted in Appendix II: it applies almost equally to the requirements of a Student's Room.

[3] Paragraphs (*f*) to (*i*), (*k*), and (*n*) of this section.

(*d*) *The Repository: Economy of Space.* We come finally to what, for most Archivists securing the building of a Repository, would probably be an essential feature. We discuss below the question of shelving, but so far as the actual building is concerned there is no doubt that the best plan is, as a rule, the stack system. By this the space wasted on corridors and party walls is saved, the divisions of the Repository being by floors only. These, however, whether they are iron stages in a single lofty hall or room or actual ceilings and floors, should not be far apart: it is undesirable to have shelves out of easy reach; because this may lead to the damaging of documents, especially heavy ones, when they are being taken out from a top shelf.

(*e*) *Shelving.* The original idea of a Library or Repository as a room having its walls covered with shelving has now long given way to that of a series of spaces filled to about half their capacity, or perhaps less, by means of presses projecting at right angles from the wall and having, as it were, short passages between them; each of these 'passages' starting from a window. There is no doubt that this is the ideal from the points of view of air, light, and convenience. In most cases, however, the plan which is most economical of cubic capacity must be chosen, and this is undoubtedly the arrangement by which presses projecting from each of two opposite walls to a depth of nearly one-third of the total available breadth have practically no space left between them: the remaining third of the room space forms a central passage between the two sets of presses and into this, by means of an arrangement of small wheels on rails, any one of the presses may be pulled so as to give access to its contents. By this plan nearly two-thirds of the total cubic capacity is filled; and with reasonable care the necessary circulation of air can still be secured.

The uprights of such cases could probably be made only of steel. The principal objection of those who dislike the system is that the steel shelves are destructive of bindings and covers. Given the steel uprights, however, there is nothing to prevent the shelves being of any material. The danger from fire is very

little increased if they are made of wood, the kindliest of all materials, as is the case in the Library of Wales: the Record Office has slates, covered in some cases with leather; and possibly the idea of thus lining the shelves for the lighter and the more valuable documents (especially those in small books) might still be used: very thick plate-glass would probably be the ideal, owing to the absence of friction; and this material was employed, we believe, for shelving the precious library of the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Possibly the solution of the future will be some form of enamelled (*not* painted) metal. In Belgium a kind of smooth *béton armé* has been tried with success. The walls of the presses (between the uprights) should be of some form of skeleton work or netting in metal so as to allow of the passage of air.

(*f*) *Receptacles.* Coming now to the system of packing we are dealing with a subject one side of which (the arrangement of documents from the point of view of packing convenience) remains to be discussed below under the heading of *Arrangement and Classification.* But there are certain simple facts which may be stated here. The chief difficulty lies in reconciling the necessity of letting in air with the necessity (in such places as London, particularly) of keeping out dirt in the form of dust. Different shapes and forms of documents lend themselves to a greater or less degree to boxing and enveloping and in some instances it may be necessary to choose between cleanliness and air, in which case air must have the first place. As a rule, however, it is possible to meet both. At the Public Record Office parchment deeds, for example, are loosely folded [1] and slipped each into a stout, square, flapless envelope, numbered with the same number as the deed: a box the dimensions of which in section are slightly larger than those of the envelopes receives them in the fashion of cards in a card-index: a loose lid with a deep brim closes it. For loose small documents of

[1] Documents on paper should never be folded if it can be avoided, but it is better to fold than to mutilate by cutting them up as is suggested by some writers. A paper can nearly always be folded at a place where there is no writing and the hinge strengthened with gauze (see below, para. (*j*)). For extreme cases there is always the resource of a roll.

irregular size, or for small rolls, larger boxes of similar construction but having the lid hinged are used. A good plan here is to have the end of the box [1] opposite to that on which the lid is hinged itself hinged at the bottom : the result is that when the lid is raised a few inches the hinged end falls down and if the documents are all labelled with tagged labels facing outwards the one required can generally be extracted without taking the box off the shelf. The dimensions of box and shelf are, of course, made interdependent for economy of space in storing. The material of these boxes is *stout* mill-board with strong binder's cloth for all joints or as a complete covering.

Loose papers are treated in various ways in large Archive establishments. They may, of course, be simply done up in parcels. If this, the least commendable, method of packing is through necessity adopted the material of the parcels should be thin glazed packing cloth; not paper, which tears and crumbles into dust. Sometimes they are placed in box-files or portfolios. All these methods are unsatisfactory because they may mean the production to students of a number of detached documents under a single reference, an undesirable practice as is explained below; also because they lead to crumpling. It is therefore a usual practice to bind valuable State Papers or other documents in volumes, first either guarding them (mounting them on strips of paper or parchment attached to the left-hand edge, which will be sewn in the binding) or inlaying them in a frame of paper, if considerations of time and expense permit. The process is costly and if at any time it is necessary to remove any considerable number the binding is spoiled. And, of course, dust is not excluded unless we go to the further expense and labour of a case of mill-board and cloth to slip over the whole volume except the back.

A cheap form of binding may be obtained by the use of file boards. In this case each of the two sides consists of two pieces of board both of the required height of the file but one being

[1] If this plan is adopted the hinged end should be in the nature of a false side; i. e. the original fixed side should remain behind it but all cut away except the corners (as shown in the illustration in Appendix III (i)): this helps to exclude dust.

only about 1 to 1½ inches broad. The two are covered with a single piece of binding cloth, a space of about one eighth of an inch being left between them; and the result is a side like that of the ordinary cloth-bound book, but having a hinge near one edge. The documents to be bound are guarded with a guard a little broader than the narrow piece of board mentioned above and placed in a pile between two of these file-boards. Five or seven holes are then pierced through the narrow portions of the boards and the guards on the papers and the file is laced tightly through these with whipcord. At the opposite end to the hinge the file is tied round with a tape.

This form of binding has the advantage of being cheaply and quickly made, the whole of the ordinary processes of sewing, gluing-up, backing and forwarding being cut out; and at any time the file can be broken up, certain papers extracted and the remainder bound up again at the expense of five minutes' labour and a new piece of whipcord. The method may, however, be extended. If stout mill-board is used for the sides and if the binding cloth used for one side is continued uncut and so used for the covering of the second, a back like that of a cloth-bound book may be formed (see illustration in Appendix III (ii)) and the result will be in every way as good as that of a bound volume. A final improvement is the addition of a cloth-flap along the top edge of the under board: this can be turned over the edges of the documents in the file and tucked in between the top page or membrane and the front file board. The tape round the file will keep all in position and the flap will exclude much dust. It may be added that the process of guarding papers, when carried out on a large scale, is easy and rapid [1] and that the same may be said of the making of file cases, such as are described above, of standard sizes in large quantities. The general introduction of files of this pattern might solve much of the difficulty at present experienced in keeping and producing miscellaneous papers in a suitable way. These files can, of course, be lettered or labelled, like books, on the back. In any case, whether file-boards or correct binding in volumes is used,

[1] See the instructions given in Cockerell, *Bookbinding and the Care of Books.*

the boards should be made at least a quarter of an inch higher in proportion to the size of the papers bound than is usually done by bookbinders: otherwise if the back of the binding becomes loose the contents will drop and their lower edges will be rubbed on the shelves; since naturally such volumes and files will be stacked on their edges as books always are; and they will probably be heavy.

The Archivist will always be faced with special cases to be dealt with by special treatment: the writer, for example, was recently consulted as to the preservation of some very large Enclosure Award Maps and made the not very recondite suggestion that they should be rolled in an outer cover of cloth; the ends not covered in but filled up with wool or cotton waste, so as to exclude dust but not air: probably the custodian thought of some even simpler and better contrivance to gain these objects. Packing is another of the Archive problems which require only two qualities for their solution—knowledge of the absolute essentials for Archives and common sense in securing them.

(*g*) *Handling and damage.* A considerable number of dangers have to be faced in connexion with the use of Archives by students: assuming that the Archivist himself is invariably above reproach he yet cannot expect the same carefulness in all the students who use Archives. To forbid smoking is an obvious precaution. To forbid ink is not so invariably a rule[1]; and in fact it may be well to defend this regulation by pointing out that even fountain-pens and stylographs of the best makes in the most careful hands sometimes blot and that one blot may be infinitely disastrous. Students are apt to discredit this last suggestion and should have their attention directed to the tale of Paul-Louis Courier and the MS. of *Daphnis and Chloe*: it would be indiscreet to quote a more modern example. The hardship is not really a great one to those who know that writing in 'indelible pencil' will come out like purple ink if held over a steaming kettle. The marking of Archives with any

[1] Its use is permitted, for example, in the Archives Nationales at Paris and in the British Museum.

form of writing is dealt with below, this being a danger which goes beyond the mere physical defacement; but of course it should be absolutely forbidden to students.[1] Should a mark of some kind be made, in spite of all precautions, on an Archive, the Archivist has two courses open to him. Either he may invoke the aid of an expert chemist, who will very possibly be able to remove it, or he may attach to the Archives a statement authenticated by signature and date of what has occurred. He will probably find it wisest of all to combine the two procedures.[2]

In the turning of pages and the like incidents of handling some people apparently find it impossible to be careful: against such dangers the Archivist has little shield except the most complete supervision possible, the enforcement by every means of regulations as to the immediate reporting of all accidents, the prevention of all unnecessary touching by means of proper stands[3] and suitably covered weights, and a jealously guarded rule by which he may at his discretion refuse to produce any document on the ground of its physical state. It is probable that the extended use of the Photostat machine,[4] which makes

[1] Even in the case of a Library of Printed Books of any value it is usual to make such an offence, wilfully committed, carry with it the penalty of exclusion.

[2] We have had occasion more than once to point out the usefulness of the authenticated and dated note by an Archivist concerning any archive peculiarity observed by him in any of his charges. The practice of former Archivists shows that the value of this habit has been generally appreciated. Thus in what is now known as Coram Rege Roll 352, at the Public Record Office, Membrane 131 *b* (dorse) ends with the words 'plus de isto placito in rotulo sequenti': to this is added a note 'set in anno domini 1604 cum hoc recordum abbreuiavi non patet ubi hic Rotulus est nec aliquod signum ubi consui debet de quo miror multum. Arth' Agarde.'

I am indebted for this pleasant example to Professor Ehrlich, of the University of Lwów. An even earlier private example is afforded by a note in a fourteenth-century hand attached to a fragmentary document belonging to Winchester College, which the Bursar of the College, Mr. Herbert Chitty, was good enough to show me: '*in hoc sacculo continetur carta. R. dei gracia Regis Anglie . . . cum partibus minutis sigilli regii confracti et carta est in parte putrefacta quo minus legi potest.*' Such annotation is, of course, not uncommon (cp. again the notes on the Pershore Cartulary quoted above). The point is that it ought to occur even more frequently.

[3] See above, paragraph (*c*). No student should under any circumstance be allowed to write on paper placed on the document except for purpose of tracing, which should only be done by special permission and with special precautions for the use of a soft pencil.

[4] The Photostat machine, working by electric light, produces negatives on

the production of photographic copies easy and inexpensive, will do much to help in the preservation of Archives.

(*h*) *Theft.* Against this and other ill practices of students—the actual commission of which would not be difficult where the document in question was small and the Students' Room large and full of workers—the Archivist has, apart from supervision, and moral deterrents, little defence: though supervision, if it includes the careful preservation of record of every person who studies archives and the documents to which he or she has had access, may be made tolerably adequate. It may be well to add here that if only as a technical guarantee supervision must include always the presence of an official of the Archive department in the Students' Room during the whole time it is in use. As regards theft in particular—the Archivist can at least make it unprofitable by a systematic and copious stamping of every Archive which is produced to a student. The stamp used must be a metal one and the ink of some kind which cannot easily be effaced, such as printer's ink;[1] and, where it can be done without obliteration, the stamp should be on the back of the written surface or be made to touch the edge of the writing itself. Rubber stamps and the inks used with them are of little value. A further defence may be found in the rule that a number of unattached documents under a single reference, such as the parcel form to which objection was made above, should not be produced to students in that condition; nor indeed should any student be allowed to have at the same time such a number of single documents (even though each has a separate reference) as would make checking difficult when they were returned. These rules are by no means invariably enforced, but they are good ones. And in any case every student should be required to give a separate signed request for every archive having a separate number.

It has seemed hardly necessary to enlarge here upon the

sensitized paper with the image reversed; i. e. the negative, though the writing appears in white on a black ground, is otherwise a photographic facsimile of the original; and if the writing in the latter is clear, very readable. Reference to the use of this machine is made again below, in Part V, § 7.

[1] On this subject see also below, Part IV, § 2 (*c*).

necessity that every student admitted to study Archives should be in some way accredited: nor to deal with the various systems[1] under which he may ask for and have produced to him the Archives he requires. Forms of request and systems of production are many: in France, for example, at the Archives Nationales, with its *Bureau de Renseignements*, its *Bulletin* in quadruplicate and so forth, the system, though doubtless useful and necessary there, is more complicated and makes more demands upon both Archivist and student than that in force in England. So long as the necessity for supervision is well understood and so long as the rule enunciated in the next section (that there must be a signature for every stage in the production of an archive from its place in the repository to the student) is strictly enforced, the Archivist may be left to evolve for himself the most simple system his special circumstances permit. We shall have occasion to speak later of the desirability of making out of the record of archives produced to and used by any student a help for those who come after.[2]

(*i*) *Misplacing.* This question of the student's use of Archives may lead us to speak of the last of Agarde's dangers;[3] though doubtless he meant more by the word than its literal sense. The efficient administration of Archives involves a system for their 'production', whether on a small or large scale. The only one which is safe is one like that of a registered letter, by which no archive passes from its place on the shelves without a signature being given for every hand which touches it on the way; its place being taken in the repository during its absence by a card, large and stout enough not to be lost, bearing its reference and the date and particulars of its removal including the identity of the remover. Its return is simply a reversal of the stages, many or few, through which it passes on its way out.[4] Simplification, then, of the process of 'produc-

[1] Accounts of these will be found in Royal Commission, First Report, Part II.

[2] Part II, § 9.

[3] Cp. a note by him, quoted above, as to a missing membrane.

[4] The misplacement of a document in any large collection is so serious an inconvenience (it may be the work of many days to put the error right) that it is well to have the strictest rules in force on this subject: for example any one engaged on the

tion' in a large office can only be by reduction of the number of these stages, not by the omission of any of the precautions in the way of signature.[1]

(*j*) *Repairing*. This is another matter directly connected with production: for while repairs, if the Archive collection is an old one, should be systematically conducted by classes, where the need for them is noticed in individual cases as single documents are produced these should be dealt with, if possible, forthwith. Repair of Archives involves the presence, temporary or permanent, of a skilled repairer on the staff—or working under the supervision of the staff—officially connected with the administration of the repository in question (on account of the question of custody). The skill, and the implements, required are mainly those of a really good bookbinder, the technicalities of whose craft we cannot here attempt to describe; but a few special principles may be laid down.

Speaking generally we may say that in a large repository the amount of repairing work to be done will be so great that our object must be, while sacrificing no principle and no element of efficiency and safety, to secure the greatest possible economy and speed in working.

Implements include all those of the ordinary bookbinding shop, and in particular plenty of accommodation in heavy iron pressing machines provided with a sufficiency of heavy wooden slabs. It may be well to remark by the way that pressing in the iron press should come only when the repaired document is nearly dry.

Materials for repair must resemble as closely as possible (here the practical chemist may again be useful on occasion) those of the document to be repaired; vellum or parchment being patched with the same material of the best quality; and paper with hand-made rag papers. For making guards, however, for parchment documents linen-lined paper may be used.

replacing of documents should make it a rule that once he has withdrawn a card from the shelf the document it represents *must be replaced before another card is touched*.

[1] The question of Contents Lists and Shelf Lists for the Repository is dealt with below (§ 6 (*aa*)): see also the reference above in connexion with precautions against fire.

Preparation of materials. The chief principle with regard to patches is the biblical one: which amounts to this—that pieces to be added to an old document must be reduced to about the same consistency, relative weight and strength as the edges to which they are to adhere, otherwise they will merely cause it to break away afresh. For this purpose patching material must be rubbed down with a rasp (in the case of parchment) or by other means: in particular the patch should never have a straight cut edge—it should be thinned away here to nothing.

Where a document is written on both sides the most skilled operation which can be performed is to split the paper and mount the two sides on to a new piece; but even in the most experienced hands this is not always possible. A much simpler plan, and less dangerous, is to use a fine silk *gauze* (chiffon) over the writing: if thin paste is employed, the dry gauze being laid on the document (which must be smoothed by damping [1]) and well pasted over with a heavy brush (surplus paste being removed afterwards with a damp sponge), and if this is followed by plenty of pressure between sheets of greased-paper, this process is effective as well as safe and the gauze will practically disappear, whether the material on which it is used be parchment or paper: moreover, it will practically always be possible to give body to the whole by repairing the edges with the same material as the original, shaped to overlap it as little as possible and thinned down as described above. Tracing paper, goldbeaters' skin, and the like are snares, to judge by the experience of the past.[2] The Prussian plan of coating documents with a solution

[1] The procedure of immersing the whole document in a bath of warm water, recommended in the official pamphlet of the Library of Congress, seems to me a dangerous one to offer for general purposes: in spite of the assurance there given that it is safe for all documents of a date earlier than 1800. I doubt whether it would be safe for any inks containing carbon, and the writer can certainly have had no experience of some of the inks of the Tudor period. In many cases, too, it would tend not to remove but to fix the dirt.

[2] Mr. Cockerell, however, tells me he has every confidence in fine Japanese paper, which he has used with great success. It is particularly necessary if this is used in pieces of any but the smallest size that it should be applied to both sides of the document, which will otherwise be warped. It is not quite so transparent as gauze

of collodion in amyl acetate has not been proved to be safe and seems laborious and unnecessary.

Paste. Except, of course, for special purposes, such as the backs of books, where glue is employed, flour paste should be the only adhesive; and unless the materials used (including preservatives) are exactly known it is better not to buy it ready made. Either 'cornflour' or ordinary flour make a very good smooth paste, though cornflour is perhaps preferable on the ground of greater purity:[1] after the paste has been mixed with boiling water it is again brought to the boil: a small proportion of alum[2] is generally mixed in, though in the absence of definite information it might be better to omit this. Of the two pieces to be joined the one not pasted should be damped.

Size. This is best made privately by simmering down odd fragments of clean vellum and parchment in water.[3] It may be used with advantage on any paper and especially that which, without being torn, has lost stiffness and quality; for example, the dog-eared corners of books. Where the ink is thickly laid on, the size should not be used too warm, otherwise it may lead to the ink soaking through to the other side of the paper.

The materials described above are at any rate harmless, and they should cover all ordinary repairs. The rest is a matter of practice and suitable fingers. It is to be specially noted that cases for gauze are the only ones where the repairing material is not the same as the original, and gauze should not be used unnecessarily.

Book Repairing. Coming to the subject of Book-repairing and binding we are on ground which has been very well covered

for use over pale ink. An example of the effect of the old tracing paper will be found in S. P. Dom., King William's Chest, 5, f. 78.

[1] It is to be regretted that the question of discoloration of paste by light has not been made the subject of scientific tests such as those carried out in the case of paper, ink, and leather.

[2] About one and a half tablespoons to a quartern of flour. It is better to make fresh paste frequently and the preservatives (oil of cloves or thymol) usually recommended are then unnecessary: paste does not go bad after it has been applied and dried. See also the recipes given in Mr. Cockerell's book, cited below. Some bookbinders mix the paste cold first and then boil.

[3] The recipe given in *Spon's Workshop Receipts* (under Ivory Paper) is for a rather strong solution, but the process described is the same.

already and in particular may refer to Mr. Cockerell's book [1] and to his work in restoring the standard of craftsmanship in bookbinding. It is well, however, to remember still that the ordinary sewer, forwarder or finisher is not always experienced in repairing work or in the antiquities of bookbinding and may easily do in ignorance irreparable damage. We may perhaps refer in this place without presumption to two or three points merely of Archive utility,[2] not of fine craftsmanship. Thus it is still not sufficiently realized by Archivists that if old volumes are to be rebound they should be given the old system of sewing—'flexible' sewing on raised bands or cords—and the old system of attachment of these to the boards. Too little attention is commonly given in Repositories to the preservation of old leather by feeding it (even a non-animal grease, such as vaseline, is useful) or when it has gone a stage further by arresting decay (here paste water followed by size is valuable). Repairs are not in general taken in hand soon enough; partial rebacking as soon as a headband goes will save a whole binding for years, and the same may be said of the addition of vellum shoes to the two lower edges in the case of heavy books; apart from saving the leather and board from rubbing away these add a little to the height and so help to prevent the lower edges of the pages from getting rubbed when the back has begun to get loose and the whole book has consequently dropped: but if these shoes are to be of use they must be not merely glued on but nailed with brass tacks clinched on the inside of the boards. In point of fact even if the cover has not perished a book should be rebacked if it shows this tendency to drop, because rebacking gives an opportunity to glue it up again. Much, however, can be done in the way of preservation before books reach even this point by looking to the packing of them on the shelves. It is now generally realized that packing must not be too tight; but equal damage may be done by its being too loose so that the sheets are not properly

[1] *Bookbinding and the Care of Books* (London, 1901), in which all the materials and processes used in bookbinding (and in book-repairing) are fully described.

[2] See also the section on *Binding and Rebacking* in App. IV.

supported between the boards. Open cases[1] may also be cheaply made and effectively used to protect frail bindings.

Leather for Bookbinding[2] was the subject of most elaborate experiments and an excellent Report to the Society of Arts twenty years ago. The question of the fading of colours was gone into at considerable length, but from our point of view (that of preservation and repairing) the most important passages are those in which the Committee states its conclusion that 'a pure sumach tannage will provide a good and durable leather and that leather may be produced which will prove as durable as any made in the past'; and that, apart from the quality of the leather employed, the forces which make for destruction are too much sunlight, bad ventilation, damp, and the fumes of gas and the like. In purchasing, therefore, leather for repairs the Archivist should at least specify that it is to be non-acid tanned. Of the matter of ventilation, &c., we have already spoken.

On the technical subject of *Binding* new books as distinct from repairing old ones we must be content with a reference to Mr. Cockerell's book: merely remarking that if binding[3] is resorted to for Archives the best materials only should be used for the boards and sewing.

General Supervision. In conclusion we may emphasize in connexion with binding a matter which concerns every department of repairing. It is most fatally easy to destroy without knowing it what may be valuable evidence. The needleholes of old sewing, the way in which sheets were put together for binding, the method of attachment of membrane to membrane—these and the like[4] may all have the most valuable significance. Supervision then in all repairing work is of the highest importance; and in particular we would lay it down that nothing

[1] See App. IV.

[2] The Report was published under this title (London, 1901). Another Report to this Society (on Paper) is mentioned below, Part IV, § 2 (*a*).

[3] See the remarks on this subject in paragraph (*f*) above. For qualities of millboard, tape, &c., and on the subject of sewing and other processes, see Mr. Cockerell's book.

[4] Cp. two cases noted below, § 6 (*d*) and (*g*).

should ever be cut away, and as little as possible should be obscured, by repairing. Some Specimen Rules for an Archive Repairing Department will be found in an Appendix to this volume.[1]

(*k*) *Re-agents.* The subject of the use of Archives brings us to yet another danger, that of the use of liquids to restore faded ink. There is a natural demand for these; and on the other hand the English Public Records [2] bear eloquent testimony to their danger. No one has yet investigated the possibility of getting rid by some chemical action of the effects of oxidization of strong 'restoratives' applied in the past; and meanwhile there is a natural reluctance on the part of careful people to use even such a very weak solution as is now employed at the Record Office (99 per cent. distilled water to 1 per cent. gallic acid). With regard to another well-known restorative (ammonium sulphide), the action of which is temporary, the keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum recently gave it as his opinion that this was quite safe in the case of parchment, but left a more or less permanent stain on paper.[3]

Pending further inquiries we may suggest first that the really expert reader will frequently decipher without help of 'restoratives' a passage which has defied the less experienced, and a document should always be submitted to every possible test of this kind before any attempt is made to 'restore' it: frequently an adjustment of the light or of the angle of vision will help; frequently also a knowledge of the form of the document. Secondly, ordinary cleaning with soft 'Draughtsman's' rubber or with water (even with a little soap and water applied very gently with a camel's-hair brush) should be tried as a first measure in the case of parchment; rubber, if very soft, may also be used on paper, but only by the expert. Thirdly, if restorative is used it is an easy precaution against possible

[1] App. IV.

[2] Many of the Public Records used by earlier generations are literally black with these: the Charter Roll of 37 Henry III (membrane 12) and Parliament Roll 61 (last membrane) furnish two of many examples.

[3] Mr. J. P. Gilson reviewing Mr. Johnson's *Care of Records* in *History*, April 1920, p. 42.

future oxidization to print, or at any rate preserve, a transcript of anything that may be read, and this should be insisted on; and of course no attempt either to clean or to restore should be made by any save the official custodian. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that gallic acid has no effect upon 'coloured inks'; for example, on the red paint of medieval rubrics.

(*l*) *Seals.* The best method for the preservation of these is a vexed question. From the earliest times it has given trouble, if we may judge from the bags designed for them, of which specimens may be seen in the Public Record Office Museum. That these were of little use is demonstrated by the fact that in most cases the contents are dust,[1] while large and frail seals preserved elsewhere without any precaution have remained intact.[2] On the other hand, seals enclosed in contemporary 'skippets'[3] of wood or metal are nearly always unbroken although these receptacles exclude the air almost entirely. The inference drawn at Stockholm, where this matter has received considerable attention, is that although seals, like documents, should be given plenty of air, the most directly damaging condition is that of contact with any soft material which by absorption may assist that extraction of the greasy element from the wax which (it is held) renders the seals dry and brittle. Acting upon this conclusion, the Swedish authorities[4] have devised a mixture of beeswax with turpentine and resin with which they paint seals which show signs of decay and brittleness in order to restore the 'greasy' element; and have made it an absolute

[1] Cp. the Winchester document quoted above in paragraph (*g*).

[2] In the case of a finely preserved collection of seals (to take the first example which comes to mind), those on the muniments of Pembroke College, Cambridge, the documents are still kept loosely done up in the old large wooden chests (also loosely done up) in which they have been for centuries; and no doubt these seals owe their immunity to the circumstances mentioned in the text—reasonable atmospheric conditions, lack of handling and absence of wrappings.

[3] A small box of the same shape and size as the seal. There are a number of specimens at the Public Record Office, including some fine silver ones of the period of Henry VII (*T. R. Indentures of Foundation of Henry VII Chapel*) and some wooden ones of German origin (*Special Collections: Loose Seals*, Class R).

[4] I am indebted for these and other details to the Baron de Fleetwood, who is in charge of the Department of Seals in the Royal Archives of Stockholm, and who was good enough to communicate to me a copy of his notes on the subject.

rule that seals shall never be wrapped or laid in cotton, wool, or the like materials. Other authorities have recommended and even practised the policy of cutting off really valuable specimens, so that the document may be produced without them. Certainly all the evidence before the recent Royal Commission [1] on Public Records tends to prove that handling, even the most careful, must be dangerous. On the other hand, the author of one of the most recent works on Seals [2] attacks fiercely a particular instance of this policy.

Probably the best plan to follow in the packing and production of documents with seals is to take all possible precautions short of cutting them off [3] and without excluding air, and to observe a rule that every seal of any value,[4] as soon as it is discovered, shall have a careful mould made from it and a copy cast and set aside for preservation, as is done in France [5] and elsewhere. The procedure recommended by the Stockholm authorities is to oil the seal with olive oil and take a mould by means of liquid plaster applied with a brush. The mould is soaked with a drying mixture consisting mainly of linseed oil. From this mould casts may be taken in sulphur, again applied with a brush in a liquid state: the casts being ultimately backed with plaster. An incidental advantage of this procedure is that the collection of casts can be arranged as a separate entity. In the event of a seal becoming broken it may be mended, if it is not a double one, and if it is appended (not affixed), by being imbedded in a pat of wax of the same materials as itself; and in any case mending should only be done with wax of this description. Where there is a simple fracture (without large pieces being lost) of a pendent seal, the Swedish

[1] See this Commission's *First Report* and the evidence (e. g.) of Professor Tout (vol. iii, p. 103).

[2] Dr. R. L. Poole, *Seals and Documents*, published by the British Academy, p. 1.

[3] If they are cut off, at least the most careful photographic and other record should be kept of their original state.

[4] Fortunately there are numerous works on Seals to act as criteria: for example, the British Museum Catalogue (ed. W. de Gray Birch) and that of the Archives Nationales by Douet d'Arcq; also the French Provincial Catalogues.

[5] See the remarks of the Commission on this subject. *First Report*, vol. ii, p. 133, and cp. Coulon, *Le Service sigillographique* (Paris, 1916).

plan is to melt the wax at the back of the seal itself by means of a heated knife, so that it runs down into the crack between the two pieces.

A chemical analysis made not many years ago [1] gives useful data on the composition of early specimens in England, mainly a question of the proportions of beeswax and resin : an analysis carried to a later date would be welcome ; as would also a chemical investigation into the cause and nature of the loss of quality in wax, conducted on the same lines as the investigations made at various times into the deterioration of modern inks and papers.[2]

(*m*) *Special Dangers.* Finally, special circumstances, climate and so forth, must always give rise to special dangers, and these the Archivist must meet as best he may, with the best help from the experience of others which he can obtain. South Africa,[3] for instance, may naturally be expected to produce conditions different from those in England. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the essential qualities of South African Archives are the same as those of this or any other country ; and the Archivist's simple duty is the conservation of these.

(*n*) *Archive Museums.* As a rider we may perhaps add a note on the subject of Museums arranged in connexion with important Repositories of Archives. We have already deprecated the detachment of what should remain, as they were originally, objects annexed to Archives : a Museum, if it is instituted, should not be allowed to become a temptation to any such practices. In other respects, however, it has its uses.[4] It enables archives of a spectacular nature to be exhibited to the curious who do not wish to come in as serious students : Domesday, for example (not nearly so important to students as the unpublished

[1] Dobbie and J. J. Fox in *Transactions of the Chemical Society*, vol. 105 (1914), p. 797.

[2] See below, Part IV, § 2.

[3] The Chief Archivist to the Union of South Africa, Mr. C. Graham Botha, tells me that the use of ordinary flour paste in that country attracts the attention of a particularly voracious beetle. Doubtless he will contrive to discover some substitute and continue to keep his Archives in repair.

[4] In other countries such Museums are generally approved : they were being organized in Belgium, for example, when war broke out.

Pipe Rolls) is naturally an object of more popular interest. The Museum also serves to house furniture or other specimens which may have been handed down in connexion with ancient Repositories. And it may help, where undiscriminating zeal has loaded an Archive Repository with objects which are not Archives (pictures, books, and so forth : it is understood that such a difficulty is not unknown in other countries), to extract the Archivist from a dilemma.

§ 6. *Primary Duties of the Archivist :* (ii) *Moral Defence of Archives.*

(*a*) *Introductory.* We have already dwelt at some length upon the importance of custody and have even gone so far as to suggest that the Archivist might go out of his way to secure the custody of Archives with which he is not primarily concerned. We need do no more here than to draw the obvious inference that once Archives are in his keeping the Archivist must allow no access, or possibility of access, to them in any circumstances, except under the personal supervision of himself or his deputy ; supervision including his or his deputy's personal presence without intermission. It is equally clear that under no circumstances may any marking or alteration of a document (alteration including any change whatever in its relation to other documents) be made by any one save an Archive Official.

This decided, the moral dangers to Archives against which we have to guard are clearly to be apprehended chiefly from the Archivist himself ; and since we may presumably acquit him of any intention to tamper deliberately with his Archives the wrong-doing will be unintentional. Elsewhere [1] we have given a catholic series of examples of what an Archivist should not do. Here we may endeavour to set up for him some positive rules of conduct.

The most common fault is haste in dealing with Archives, due to anxiety to make them available for use : this, or any other

[1] In Appendix V (i) : an illustration of the Archivist's duties, drawn from the history of the Exchequer of Receipt, to which the student of this section may turn with advantage.

form of negligence carrying with it a lack of understanding, may lead the Archivist to incorporate in his Archives something foreign to them, as we see the 'Pells and Auditors' arrangement forced on the Exchequer of Receipt;[1] or alternatively may result in something essential being cut out of them, as the pieces of mutilated Receipt Rolls merely by being separated from each other lost perhaps the last evidence for their identification. Separation for one reason or another of documents that have been preserved together is so common an error, and so fatal, that we may perhaps give one or two more examples; remarking by the way that as a general rule it is only some lucky chance, which has made it possible to put the error right, which reveals even the existence of these mistakes; the vast majority of documents so mishandled are from the very circumstances of the mishandling lost to view.

Our first example is furnished by a letter, printed by Bain in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. For the purposes of this publication Bain drew from some source now unknown a letter which he attributes to [George] Cely:[2] it has itself neither signature nor address. We might conjecture from the fact that he ascribed it so confidently to Cely that it was taken from the Cely Correspondence,[3] though without confirmation it is difficult to attribute to the papers of that family a letter addressed to some one not of the family (probably Sir John Weston) then in Naples; with whose muniments it would naturally be expected to have remained. We can get so far as to justify the ascription to George Cely on an inference from a letter[4] of George's brother Richard which happens to have survived elsewhere. The truth as to its provenance, with

[1] Appendix V (i).

[2] Vol. iv, p. 415: the letter, formerly in *Chancery Miscellanea*, is now *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. 60, no. 89.

[3] A collection of private documents, largely of the fifteenth century, which became annexed in some way to the Archives of the Chancery and is now in the Public Record Office.

[4] *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. 53, No. 102: printed by H. E. Malden in the Royal Historical Society's *Cely Papers*, p. 87. Mr. Malden has not unnaturally missed the letter printed by Bain. I am indebted for this reference to my colleague Mr. Charles Johnson.

any implications which might attach to that, remains, and will probably remain always, uncertain.

A parallel case to that of the *Cely* is furnished by the *Stonor Papers*,[1] a private collection of the same kind at the Public Record Office; the varying character of which, though in reality they form a perfectly regular whole, has led to their being so scattered that they are found now in classes as widely apart as the *Ancient Correspondence*, *Chancery Miscellanea*, *Ancient Deeds*, and *Exchequer Accounts*; with the result that there has been a very considerable difficulty in some cases in identification and ascription. Here the mischief is due not so much to over anxiety to utilize for historical purposes as to adherence to a preconceived notion of classification from without. A precisely similar case (due perhaps to the 'methodizers' of the State Paper Office) may be seen in two letters, one a testimonial from the Swedish Minister (now in *State Papers Foreign*, *Foreign Ministers*, vol. lxv), and the other a letter from a certain Dr. Layard in 1775 (now in *State Papers Domestic*, *George III*, vol. xi, no. 28): only the chance of a pencil note reveals the fact that the first of these is an enclosure to the second—regarded externally (on their individual merits) they seem to be quite correctly placed. Examples from both private and public Archives might be multiplied.

(*b*) *Reception: old numeration and lists: order of arrival.* We assume for the present that the Archivist is taking over formed Archives and has space in which to bestow them: questions which arise when this is not the case may be postponed for a later section. He has, then, no responsibilities before the moment of reception and every responsibility, that no genuine evidence be lost nor false one manufactured, that neither *suppressio veri* take place nor *suggestio falsi*, after that moment.

There are four chief possibilities. Either he is informed that the documents are arranged and is furnished with a List; or he has reason to expect arrangement but has no list: in both these cases his first duty is obviously to check. Alternatively

[1] Printed by C. L. Kingsford in the Historical Society's *Stonor Papers*.

he has no information other than the appearance of the documents; in which case his first duty is an investigation which will show either that they are or are not arranged, together with the checking, if arrangement does appear, of the numbers.

The question may be raised—what should the Archivist do in the case where he is taking over not from an active administrative body but from another Archivist who has already dealt with the documents? If the Archivist has made up his mind (as had to be done in the case of the Exchequer of Receipt) that the whole arrangement of a class by his predecessor requires revision he will obviously be in exactly the same position as if the documents had come from an active administrative office: i.e. his responsibility will begin from the moment he takes over and the rules for his conduct will be the same as are laid down below. In the matter of subsequent arrangement some difference may be caused by the fact that documents have been arranged before, but that is a matter for later treatment.

The most obvious rules, then, since the Archivist has in any case no first-hand knowledge of the documents, are that *no old lists may be destroyed* and that his preliminary checking and investigation *must not interfere with the order in which the documents are received or any old numeration.* This is not to say that if five clearly labelled volumes are delivered in the order 3, 5, 1, 4, 2, he may not set them in sequence on the floor. But apart from such clear cases nothing must be done to destroy the possible evidence offered by the order of their coming.

(*c*) *Accession Numbers.* The next thing to do is to safeguard for the future any evidence which may be offered by this order of arrival. There are two possibilities—

(i) If the preliminary examination has shown that their former owners had numbered the documents and that they are complete, the order in which they arrived is clearly of no further importance: they may be put at once into the order of their old numbering.

(ii) If there is no old numbering, or if there is one but a quantity of the documents are missing, there is only one

safe course—*to number the documents consecutively throughout with Accession Numbers.*

Before we go on to some Rules for this numbering and for stamping there are one or two connected points to mention. In the first place there are obviously certain common-sense cases lying between (i) and (ii) above : for example, if the Archivist has, say, a complete collection of volumes or papers numbered from 1 to 1,000, and one paper unnumbered, it would be absurd to upset the numbering of the thousand for the sake of the one ; let the single document, if it is apart, be numbered 1,001 with a note added to describe the circumstances under which it was found ; or if attached to another let it be treated in the manner provided below for enclosures and the like. The Archivist, in fact, must be left to decide, on the merits of individual cases, how many such strays would necessitate a re-numbering of the whole in the order of accession as ' unarranged documents '.

Then there is the case of regularly accruing archives. For example, ' Chancery ' Archives from the High Court in England are transferred to the Public Record Office at regular intervals ; and probably most County Archivists find themselves in a similar position in respect of certain classes of their Archives. In such cases there is opportunity for liaison between the Archivist and Administrative Compiler of the Archives ; for the latter can make the task of the former much lighter by adopting his suggestions as to packing and numeration.

(*d*) *Original Files, Bindings, &c.* A third point it may be well to emphasize here by a separate heading. The numbering we are at present describing is undertaken with the sole object of safeguarding the evidence offered by the documents' position and mutual relations at the time they are taken over. But there is one point which it cannot cover. The Archivist, dealing with loose papers, may presently file or in other ways fasten them together or he may leave them loose : but whichever he does future generations will require a distinction between these papers and those which were found filed or fastened together ; because the fact that not the Archivist but the original adminis-

tration bracketed documents together in this way may be of extreme significance. It follows that there should be an absolute Rule that *no original filing or binding may be interfered with in any way.*[1] Of course, all Rules have exceptions. In the exceptional case where something (necessary repair, for example) makes the breaking up of a file or volume imperative, a dated and authenticated note giving full particulars of the destroyed arrangement should be attached to the documents before they are again fastened together, which should be done as soon as possible.[2]

(*e*) *Stamping and Numbering: Methods and Rules.* For numbering it will be wise to use an automatic numerating stamp: there are several patterns but one should be chosen which can be adjusted easily, when required, to stamp the same number several times over instead of continuing the automatic 1, 2, 3 . . . They are all metal stamps using a suitable ink. A coloured ink should be used or some other means of distinguishing this accession numeration from any other, previous or subsequent. It will be wise to undertake at the same time, if possible, the ordinary stamping with the name of the office. As has been already indicated[3] only metal stamps and permanent inks should be used. Where a collection has been taken over every document in which is already

[1] A particularly good example of the way in which by such interference evidence may be falsified is furnished by some late seventeenth-century Colonial State Papers which came to the nineteenth century in an undoubtedly contemporary arrangement and contemporary vellum bindings; these last were the typical bindings of the period, the sewing being on pairs of vellum slips, the ends of which are drawn through the covers—the ancestors of the modern hollow-back binding. By merely cutting through the slips inside the boards a whole volume might be taken out of its cover and the 'methodizer' then proceeded to cut it up and rearrange the contents. When these were sewn and glued up again ready for binding the natural tendency would be to put them back in the original cover, which was still quite good; and we have as a result what appears to be an original binding with the papers in their original order; which nothing but a second breaking up would show to be a modern rearrangement.

[2] See the Rules given in App. IV. The point is a small one, but in the case of membranes or pages stitched together which have to be re-sewed it is desirable to use the same needleholes. Such holes are frequently valuable as evidence and should not therefore be multiplied or confused. See also the remarks on bound volumes below (*g*).

[3] Above, § 5 (*h*).

numbered it is obviously not necessary to number again: in spite of this it will be well, if possible, to make an invariable rule of this first numbering so that all documents may have an accession number distinguished in the same way (e. g. by colouring as suggested above) from every other numeration.

(*f*) *Stamping and Numbering: the Accession Register.* The Accession Numbering has, it should be noted, nothing to do with the subject or character of the documents. It merely records the state in which they were received and should work into a summary *Register of Accessions.* The arrangement of this will vary with circumstances such as the size of the Collection: the Archivist may number all accessions in any year consecutively giving a superior number for the year; or give a superior number to each collection received or each receptacle; or adopt what plan he pleases so long as every document received has an accession number which is enough to distinguish it from any other received at any time and so long as the Accession Register shows that on a given *date*, such and such *numbers* were received from such and such a *source.* Probably Archivists would find it convenient to combine the Year Number referred to with the Office Stamp.

(*g*) *Stamping and Numbering: the Single Document; the File or Volume; the Enclosure, Schedule or Insertion.*[1] We have said that every document is to receive an Accession Number. It is usual, however, to make a distinction between the classes mentioned above: a volume, for example, is treated as a single document; a file not always. It will be well to examine these classes.

The distinction sometimes attempted between documents written on a ready-made roll or volume and documents written singly and subsequently bound or sewn up need not detain us long. Many medieval English enrolments were made up long after writing, sometimes out of heterogeneous materials (as for instance the *Carte Antique* Rolls of the Chancery);[2] and even

[1] For some examples of detailed rules as to numbering see App. IV.

[2] The origin of these rolls is a matter of speculation and controversy. They are composed, sometimes, of membranes widely differing in date; but at the same time

in the case of the later books (such as the *Registers of the Privy Council*) there is sometimes room for doubt: the same remark would apply to many Cartularies.

But there is a distinction between the book or roll containing, for example, a continuous series of accounts on the one hand and on the other a series of single documents made on separate pieces of parchment or paper; and there is a distinction again between either of these and the file (the original file, made by the Office which compiled them) of separate but related documents. Moreover, whatever numbering treatment is extended to these, it does not generally touch our third class—enclosures, schedules, and insertions. The only question is how far should these distinctions affect our Accession Numeration?

Now this Numeration has only one object—the perpetual preservation of a record of the state of the documents as they came to the Archivist; and it must be obvious that the single documents on a file, the odd sheets inserted in a book,[1]

go back undoubtedly (as enrolments) to a very early time. They were calendared by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in the eighteenth century. Membranes seem often to have been made up into rolls long after they were written, as in the case of the Plea Rolls. But indeed it is probable that all enrolments were subject to such treatment, at any rate at certain periods. In the case of Cartularies, Bishops' Registers, and the like, the procedure was common; if only for the convenience of having more than one scribe at work copying at a time. The procedure of an age when ready-made books were more common has not been much investigated, but there is no doubt that here, too (in the seventeenth century for instance), examples of binding after writing occur. Professor Pollard has raised the point in connexion with the Journals of the House of Lords (Royal Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, 3rd Series, viii, pp. 17 *et seq.*). It is to be noted that in such a case the smallest details may be of value as evidence: for example the presence or absence of pounce (which was liberally used by the seventeenth-century scribe) at the back of the leaves, where they are sewn in binding, might seriously affect our opinion as to whether a book was bound before or after writing—a reflection which emphasizes the need for great care in repairing original files or volumes. Another point in connexion with early bindings is noted above (*d*).

[1] A good example of the possibilities of loose sheets inserted in books is furnished by Sir John Laughton's evidence as to inserted papers in Admiralty *Logs* (Royal Commission, *First Report*, iii. 180). Certain classes of Departmental Records in England (especially personal Registers in the War Office and the like) are very liable to have insertions of this kind, and unless they are treated as is here suggested it is never possible to say whether traces of a missing one are to be put down to administrative action in the past or to subsequent accident or theft.

the enclosures to a letter, even the pages of a bound volume are all subject in different degrees to misplacement or loss in just the same way as separate documents. It would seem then that they must all come into the scheme of numbering, but in such a way as to make clear their subordination to the file, volume or other single document to which, or in which, they are attached, inserted, or enclosed. This can best be done by the use of sub-numbers. Our Rules then will be :

that every single document has an individual number ;
that every volume or file has a single number and in addition sub-numbers for the leaves or membranes composing it ;
that every document enclosed, attached, or inserted, *after the making of the file, &c., in which it is included,*[1] has the same number as that to which it belongs, *plus* a sub-number or letter.

It follows that in some cases a second sub-number will be necessary. Thus page 40 of a volume whose accession number is 11 may have a schedule attached to it : they will be numbered 11 : 40 : A and 11 : 40 : B respectively. The Archivist may, of course, substitute Arabic or Roman numerals or any other form he likes for the letter of the alphabet; but there must be something.

It should be (but to judge by experience is not) unnecessary to point out that it is not enough to give a sub-number to one of two documents having the same superior number : thus, in the instance given, the two documents must not be distin-

[1] The object of this rule is to avoid the use of A and B so far as possible. Provided that it has every appearance of being contemporary work it will be found necessary in practice to treat the volume or file made up of single pieces (for example, letters received) as an ' original ' volume, &c., and to number its leaves or membranes accordingly ; insertions, to be numbered as such, in a volume, &c., of this kind will only be those which were clearly added to it after its original make up. Because, therefore, seven pages in an ' original ' volume of *State Papers* consist of one main letter and six others originally placed under the same cover, it is not to be supposed that these are all to have the same folio number. They are actually separate leaves of the original volume and should be numbered separately, from 1 to 7 accordingly. The same rule is to be observed in numbering the file or volume made up out of separate documents in modern times.

guished as 11 : 40 and 11 : 40 : A (or 11 : 40 : i.) (or 11 : 40*); because 40 by itself does not imply that there are any other forties.

It is to be noted that this sub-numbering applied to leaves or membranes may be very generally preserved unaltered to serve as a foliation, the most convenient form of reference for students. The stamping of sub-numbers should therefore be on the front only of leaves or membranes. The same foliation should be used for files or volumes subsequently made up out of individual documents. Original files or volumes will be distinguished by the insertion of a note (as suggested above) from those of later creation and will also be marked by the fact that their leaves or membranes have been re-numbered.

Until some such numbering work as the above has been undertaken, it is not, we must repeat,[1] safe for either the Archivist or the Public to be allowed to deal further with the documents. It will be objected that the process is too elaborate : this objection is founded on the fact that stamping is generally done without method[2] and without the best apparatus : both are well worth securing and a certain amount of extra time is well worth spending. Moreover, it is to be noted that this first numeration is not highly skilled work ; it does not necessitate reading, for example, in any case. A modification, however, might be introduced by which sub-

[1] An example of the necessity of calling the attention even of the professional Archivist to the importance of this point is furnished by the Official *Notes on . . . Arranging . . .* (already cited), published by the Library of Congress, the author of which remarks (p. 9) that ' where papers are received in a confused mass, having been pawed over and tossed about until all semblance of an order is lacking much of the preliminary and time-consuming work can be performed by less expert hands before the undivided attention of the Archivist is necessary ' : proposing apparently no precautions at all in such a case. Upon this passage it need only be remarked that there is no congeries of apparently disordered documents so chaotic that it may not prove to contain the remains of an important previous arrangement ; and that the task of preliminary examination (much more the sorting) of such a mass is one of the most difficult which the most skilled archivist could undertake.

[2] For example, it is not generally recognized that three men working together in an organized fashion can do more stamping than three working separately or one working three times as long.

numbering, the searching of volumes for loose leaves, and so forth, should be a second stage, to be entered on only when any particular Archive was required for the first time for research. But this is a compromise, which it is desirable to avoid if possible.

In any case, and at whatever stage it is done, the Accession Numbering serves only the one purpose and is permanent.

(*h*) *First Packing.* The documents having undergone their first checking, numbering, and stamping, it will probably be necessary to pack them away temporarily: and economy will sometimes demand that they should be in an order quite different from that of their first numeration; or indeed of any other numeration which could be given to them. Saving always the rules as to keeping intact original files, &c.,[1] there is no reason why this demand should not be met; but since references for purposes of the production of documents when required must necessarily follow their packing order, this cannot be done without the addition of a second numeration for reference purposes. The packing numeration, however, can be quite a simple affair compared with the other, because fresh sub-numbers in the case of original volumes and files will not be necessary.

Methods of packing must of course depend upon circumstances and exact rules cannot be laid down. We have already suggested certain methods of packing loose papers (in special file-boards), deeds (in separate envelopes enclosed in a box), and rolls or other documents (enclosed in large boxes with drop ends);[2] and the choice of these or other methods must be left to the Archivist, with the provision that no filing or binding should take place till after the 'Accession' numbering. One point, however, is to be noticed here. These arrangements are made purely for packing purposes, and therefore documents inside our boxes, &c., will now have a sub-number, not an individual one as in the Accession numeration.

The *Packing Numbers* will of course be distinguished from the *Accession Numbers* by the use of black, as opposed to

[1] See above, (*d*). [2] Above, Part II, § 5 (*f*).

coloured, ink or some such device as has been already described;[1] and a *Key List* will be constructed, working both ways, to equate the two systems. Where the packing order does not differ from the order of accession the same numbers will occur in both systems; but as we suggested before it is as well to add the fresh numeration even when the numbers are the same, since they are to be marked in a distinct manner.

The principles on which packed documents should be numbered may be made more clear by a concrete example; which will be possible when we have dealt with *Arrangement and Classification* below. So far we have mentioned only group numbers and individual or sub-numbers; but it is clear that, above these, we shall require in large Archives at least one more division; if only for the sake of creating a numeration which will be easy to handle. Before, however, we come to *Arrangement* there are one or two other matters, subsidiary but of importance.

(*i*) *The Alteration of References.* It seems certain that, ultimately, packing must to some extent be parallel to arrangement and classification: so far as it can be done both safely and conveniently it is a good thing to pack in the same receptacle or near to each other documents which are related. But between the preliminary checking and numbering with which we have been dealing, and the final arrangement which will bring to light such relationship, there may often be a considerable lapse of time, and during this time some preliminary scheme of packing will probably have to be adopted; during this time also it may be necessary to 'produce' the document for research purposes. Two things result: first, that there will be an alteration of references (i.e. Packing Numbers); and, second, that the student who has made notes of documents will find that these notes no longer produce what he wants.

The question of changed references engaged a good deal of the attention of the late Royal Commission on Public Records

[1] Another good plan is to put the Packing Number on a label sewn to the document, the Accession Number and sub-number being stamped on the document itself. Care must of course be taken to avoid any confusion between accession numbers and their sub-numbers (foliation): see App. IV.

in England,[1] many witnesses denouncing the practice of making alterations. There is, however, a distinction, which was not brought out in the Report, between changes which are a real and serious danger to the Archives and changes which are troublesome to the Historian or other student—two quite different matters. The first of these results—danger to the Archives—only occurs when the old reference is the sole indication of the former history of the document and is destroyed or obscured; and under the rules here enunciated this danger is avoided, because the history of the document is preserved by the other number—the Accession Number, which is never done away with—not by the Packing Number, which relates to nothing but the document's place on the shelves. Under these circumstances the changing of references may be regarded as perfectly legitimate—up to a point; that is to say until the final arrangement of the documents has been made in the manner detailed below. After this it should never occur; before it, there is always the valid excuse that a student who sees documents before they are completely arranged is allowed to do so only under reservations. In any case the student's difficulties can be met by the construction of a Key List equating the old references and the new; which should always be made. As an extra safeguard old references should be struck through only, not completely obliterated.

(*j*) *The Archivist's Notes.* We have had occasion to allude more than once to the usefulness, or in many cases necessity, of notes on a document, made by the Archivist. Such notes occur in all periods and frequently give most valuable information—a typical one by Agarde has already been quoted. They may be of general archive interest, as for example one descriptive of the effect upon the Common Pleas Records of the floods which followed the Great Fire;[2] but those which chiefly concern us are such as preserve record of a particular incident in the career of a particular document. The Archivist is rather liable to make such notes, if he does make them, without

[1] See its *First Report.*

[2] In the contemporary Index to the *Notes of Fines* at the Record Office (vol. xxv, note immediately before Michaelmas 18 Charles II).

attention to any particular rules; and one or two points are therefore worth mentioning. In the first place such notes should be made frequently; i. e. whenever anything has occurred which might conceivably alter the character of the document; for example, if it has been detached from another, if it sustained a tear which went through the writing and could not be entirely made good by repair, if it has been transcribed by a student and printed in full,[1] if an unexpected contemporary copy has turned up in some other collection, if it has been suddenly found to be incomplete, and so forth. Next, these notes have little value unless authenticated by date and signature (needless to say no one save the Archivist himself should make them); and they should be of a permanent character. Finally they should not, as a rule, be made on the document itself, but on a slip attached to it. In any case the greatest care must be taken that they run no risk of being mistaken at any time for part of the original document. Thus pencil marks of any kind on a modern document are most unsafe and should be forbidden; if this is not done the value of genuine contemporary alterations or additions in pencil will be gravely compromised. This point was well illustrated by an example recently observed where the Archive consisted of a printed map of North America, dated 1763, with boundaries of the Indian territories *marked in ink and pencil*.[2] Obviously the smallest suspicion of a possibility of subsequent pencil markings on this would rob it of half its value. Modern departmental Archives in England (such as those of the War Office) are particularly liable to have pencilled notes upon them and afford many examples of the need for great care in this matter.[3]

(*k*) *Archive Arrangement: its Object.* We have now done our utmost to safeguard our Archives against the result of any mistake, and can proceed to develop them with a satisfactory

[1] See on this point again below, Part II, § 9.

[2] Among the Treasury Archives (T. 1/476).

[3] For example, a confidential report on operations in America will be found in C.O. 5/96. A considerable part of the significance of this document is due to certain passages (concerning the number of scalps collected by the Indians, and so forth) being ringed round with pencil and marked '*omit*'.

feeling that if our line of proceeding is wrong the error should not at least be irreparable. Whether they are in good order, or in bad, or in none, we shall still require to arrange them : not yet, it is to be observed, to index them for the subject-matter they contain, but to marshal them in such a way that the Archive significance of every document—its own nature and its relation to its neighbours—is brought out as clearly as possible. In this way we give the fairest opportunity to the Archive of saying what it has to say and to the student of understanding and profiting.

(*l*) *Arrangement : Chief Principle.* If by our account of the Evolution and Transmission of Archives we have accomplished anything, we should have made it clear that *the only correct basis of Arrangement is exposition of the Administrative objects which the Archives originally served* ; we need hardly stop therefore to say that such a basis cannot be found in the subject interests they may possess for modern students,[1] in chronology, or even in the form in which they are cast.

Provenance, that word being taken to mean the place from which Archives come, may detain us a little longer ; but the case of the Treasury of Receipt (the Class *Exchequer T. R.* at the Public Record Office) should suffice to show that it forms no true basis for arrangement. What Archives the Treasury of the Receipt contained in its four Treasuries (the contents of which were eventually deposited in the Chapter House from which they came to the Record Office) is indicated by Agarde's *Compendium*.[2] They comprised specimens of almost every kind

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin dwell at some length (Sections 10, 15, 16, and 19) on this matter, instancing the harm done by the subject arrangement to which French and Belgian national archives were at one time submitted : which we in England can parallel from the work of our own ' methodizers '. The principle here adopted, called by the French *le respect pour les fonds* and by the Germans *Provenienzprinzip*, was first laid down in France by the Ministerial Circular of 1841, for which de Wailly was responsible and to which we have already referred : it is now almost everywhere accepted.

[2] Palgrave, vol. ii, already quoted. On the regular transmission of Archives to this Repository in early times (the thirteenth century), see *ibid.* i, pp. xxxviii, xlii, and lviii. It seems clear that Stapleton (*c.* 1320) took a considerable part in regularizing its position as a Record Office (*ibid.*, p. xvii), and it continued in active use up to the last year of George II (*ibid.*, p. xl).

of public document, including large quantities of Legal Records and (it will be remembered) a considerable number of Receipt and Issue Rolls. Certain archives which it is difficult to ascribe with certainty to any particular court are still classed as *Exchequer T. R.*, but the bulk have gone to rejoin other archives of the various courts to which they belong. Had they been classed according to the place from which they came the collection would have been almost as ridiculous and unmeaning as would the present Contents of the Public Record Office if, some centuries hence, the *Patent Rolls* of Chancery, the *Plea Rolls* of the Court of Common Pleas, the *Pipe Rolls* of the Exchequer, and the rest were all confounded together in one collection labelled *Master of the Rolls Department.*

The place, then, from which Archives are received should be a matter recorded by their Accession Numbers and the Accession Register; and may serve as a temporary class heading for the unidentified; but is not to be used normally to supply their primary division. That is provided by the Administration which produced them.

(*m*) *Arrangement: Procedure.* This will fall clearly into two parts: the first, study of the Administrations concerned, their history and organization; the second, division of the Archives into Classes, subdivision of these, and again subdivision. Touching the first of these, however, we may remark that the study of Administration, though partly achieved from external sources, can never be divorced entirely from the study of the archives: one goes in this matter in a curious circular fashion; for the Archives cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Administration which produced them, and the history and development of that Administration is often written in the Archives; so that the process is simply that known as puzzling it out.[1]

[1] The history, for example, of the Medieval Exchequer of Receipt (see App. V (i)) would best be made out, if it had to be done again, by starting in the middle when the procedure was fairly clear and working backwards and forwards, so far as the documents are concerned: its case furnishes also an average example of the amount of information which may be expected from outside sources; but is, of course, complicated by an unusual amount of past confusion, destruction of references and old lists, and so forth.

With regard to the second part, the division of the Archives ; since what we wish to do in order to comprehend them is to put ourselves in the position of the men who compiled them, our object will clearly be to *establish or re-establish the original arrangement* ; even if, when we look at it, we think we could have done better ourselves.

(*n*) *Arrangement : slip-making.* The making of a slip for every document is the first step in arrangement. Original volumes and files may be treated each on a single slip, but those which are the result of the work of an Archivist predecessor[1] whose arrangement is to be revised, will require very careful scrutiny before they can be treated in that way ; so careful that it will probably lose us little if any time to make slips of every individual document in them at the outset.

Each slip will show, when completed, in some arranged order :—

the reference (packing number) of the document,
its date or covering date,[2]
state of repair of the document,
sufficient description (but no more) to identify its contents, the material on which it is written and, if necessary, the language employed.

To the above, coming all from an examination of the document itself, must be added

the Administrative division to which the document belongs.

This, according to the state in which the document came to hand, will be obtained either from external sources or again from examination ; it may be simply added in the form of some distinguishing number, letter, or mark, to the reference already on the slip. And here we may remark that it will be convenient, though not essential, to have on the slip the *Accession Number* of the document as well as its reference.

[1] See above, Part II, § 1 (*i*).

[2] Muller, Feith, and Fruin (§§ 84 *et seqq.*) lay down rules for securing a standard usage with regard to this and other matters. We have not done so for the reasons given above (Part I, § 7) ; but it is hardly necessary to say that the Archivist must have for himself and his office a uniform practice. In large Archive offices where much arrangement may have to be done it will be useful to employ a standardized form of the slips themselves.

Finally, the slip will contain any available information as to the relation of the document to others. This, according to circumstances and the methods employed by the Archivist, may take the form of a number, a mark, a note, or a cross-reference.

(*o*) *Arrangement: the Vertical Divisions of Archives.* The distinction on the slip of the Archive Division to which each document belongs is the first stage in Arrangement, and our introduction to the most difficult part of that task. These Divisions are, so to speak, the vertical lines which split up the whole mass of Archives in a Repository. In the case of the Public Record Office they are represented by the various *Courts* (the Chancery, the Exchequer, and so forth) under which medieval Archives are grouped and the *Departments* (Admiralty, Home Office, and the like) which supersede or are added to these in modern times. The Archive Group thus established is what the French call a *Fonds*.[1] Here we meet with our first difficulty; for the French definition limits the true, 'autonomous,' *fonds* somewhat rigidly by the nature of the archives it contains; and on the other hand we find our Exchequer, for example, dividing into a number of special departments—the Exchequer proper or Upper Exchequer, the Exchequer of Receipt, the Exchequer of Pleas, the Augmentation Office, the Office of First Fruits and Tenths, the Land Revenue Department, and the late and short-lived Controller General's Department, and the Upper Exchequer splits again quite early into the two departments of Preliminary and Final Audit—those of the King's Remembrancer and the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Does the Upper Exchequer, then, imply one *fonds*, or two, or three? Similarly in the case of the Exchequer of Receipt[2] we see in turn single, triplicate and again double systems flourishing: are we to hold that the Treasurer (or his Deputy), the two Chamberlains, and later the Auditor each created a *fonds*? or are all four merely dependent

[1] The definition given by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (referred to again below) contains some of the points already made here in our definitions of Archives and Documents (above, Part I, § 2), and in the section on Archive Evolution (Part II, § 1).

[2] App. V (i).

functionaries of a single one? Clearly we shall have to offer some kind of definition of our *Archive Group*.

(*p*) *The 'Fonds' or Archive Group: Definition.* The *fonds* is the chief Archive Unit in the Continental system and the basis of all rules as to arrangement. The most important of all principles of Archive Management is named from it *le respect pour les fonds*. We shall not, therefore, be wasting our time if we devote a little of it to discussing the definition applied by the *Manuel* to this word and the way in which that definition affects us.

The Authors tell us [1] that a *fonds* is an organic whole and that any Administration, or one or more of its *fonctionnaires*, can create a *fonds d'archives* provided that these include *résolutions* or *procès-verbaux*; the inclusion of archives of such a type making it *autonome*. Roughly speaking, we may take it that they would make the qualities of a *fonds d'archives* depend on its including those which, when the administration which created it was active, constituted the final authority for executive action. For our purposes we may do better perhaps to represent this quality in terms of Administration rather than terms of documents, the forms of which, as we shall see later, are not necessarily constant. *Fonds* we may render, for lack of a better translation, *Archive Group*, and define this as *the Archives resulting from the work of an Administration* [2] *which was an organic whole, complete in itself, capable of dealing independently, without any added or external authority, with every side of any business which could normally be presented to it.* This, it may be said, is to make the *Archive Group* a division much wider, much less strictly defined than the *Fonds*. But it is so in appearance only. To take a modern instance, it would obviously be absurd to deny to the Archives of many of the departments of the English War Office,[3] as it was constituted

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 1, and following sections, and § 55.

[2] Notice that nothing need be said of the size of the Administration—whether it consisted of one man or twenty—nor of its origin—whether it was created by, e. g., a statute or merely grew out of circumstances: such facts not affecting our present purpose. This takes us back to our original very catholic definition of Archives in Part I of the present work.

[3] For other examples of such independent or quasi-independent departments see the Royal Commission's *Second Report*, i, pp. 11–13, 50–53, and 87.

during the War, the independent arrangement to which the undoubted executive independence of those departments entitles them ; just as (in a case we have already seen) we have been obliged to treat Departments of the Exchequer such as those of the *King's* and *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer* as separate Archive Groups : they are, as it were, *fonds* within *fonds*. The Authors of the *Manuel* meet such cases by allowing to the Archives of *Commissions* the status of *fonds* under certain conditions, whereas we have here referred to all alike as Archive Groups—a very slight divergence. We may, in point of fact, find it advisable to give a separate name—such as *Division*—to those Groups which are divided off from a larger one ; but even if this is not done our difference from the Foreign Authorities amounts to no more than that our system gives a little more latitude in individual cases. It is a difference, in fact, of point of view, not of principle ; and the fundamental rule of arrangement, the *respect pour les fonds*, remains, of course, untouched—whatever else we do we must not break up the Archive Group.

(*q*) *Where one series of Archives is divided between two Archive Groups.* So far we have dealt with the results which follow when an Administration is split up and delegates its functions to 'Commissions', the Archive Groups being multiplied in proportion. But sometimes we have the opposite case where a single function and a single series of Archives apparently belongs to more than one Archive Group.[1] Thus the Archives of the *First Fruits and Tenths Office*, as we have already seen,[2] were taken over with some existing functions by the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty, who continued the series of Archives known as *Bishops' Certificates* : similarly the Records and Functions of the *Court of Common Pleas* and other legal Courts were taken over by the *Supreme Court of Judicature* [3] and, once again, some of the series of Records continued ; and the same thing occurred when the Controller General of the Exchequer took over the Exchequer

[1] This case is not considered separately by Muller, Feith, and Fruin ; it is, however, of considerable importance on occasion.

[2] See above, Part II, § 2 (*b*).

[3] *Ibid.*

of Receipt[1] in 1834. When in due time the Archivist takes over the documents in such cases, what should be done with series which begin under one Administration and end under another? especially when each of these two Administrations formed an Archive Group of otherwise quite distinct series? It seems quite clear that the Archivist's only plan in such a case if he wishes to avoid confusion is to class the Archives separately under the Administrations which actually created them, even though this means breaking up a single series between two Archive Groups. A proper system of cross-reference will leave no doubt as to what has occurred; and if this were not done a much worse situation might arise in which the Archives of a single Administration were partly classed under its own name and partly under that of another.

A word of warning is needed in this connexion. The procedure here recommended applies to the case where the Archives of one Department have been taken over by another simply from the point of view of custody; and to that case only. Where Archives compiled originally in one Administrative connexion become later involved in a fresh administrative action they naturally become Archives of this second Administration. Thus we saw that what started by being a cartulary of the Abbey of Chertsey has come down to us as an exhibit in a suit in the Court of Exchequer. Many private muniments, as we pointed out above,[2] become in some such way Public Archives and will naturally be classed accordingly: to take one more example, the

[1] See App. V (i) (*m*).

[2] See above, Part II, § 2 (*e*). It is necessary to emphasize this point because since the above passage was written it has become evident, from a paper read to the Royal Historical Society (October 1920) by Dr. Redlich, of the Viennese Archives, that in the stress of restitution and re-arrangement of Archives as a result of territorial redistribution following on War, the doctrine may be advanced that Archives belong in the place or office in which they originated. It needs only a few minutes' thought to show the absurdity of such a suggestion. Under it documents made in one office and subsequently forwarded (as vouchers for example) to another would have to be returned to the first: nay, letters received must be sent back to the Archives of their sender. Local Archives may legitimately demand to have returned to them, if they have been taken away, the Archives of some purely local Administration; but let them not be so foolish as to expect Central Archives to be dismembered in order that

Records of the Wardrobe have mostly come down to us not as Archives of that Department but as vouchers to accounts in the Exchequer. An Archive belongs to the last Administration in which it played an active part.

(*r*) *Arrangement within the Archive Group: Accepted Theories and some Difficulties.* So far our statement of the problems of Archive arrangement has reached to the initial necessity of sorting out our whole collection—what in French would be called the *Dépôt d'Archives* [1]—into Archive Groups or *Fonds*, and possibly Sub-Groups. We have now to deal with the problems of arrangement within these. Towards this object we have at present one contribution—the fact that our aim must be to get back to the original order designed for our Archives by their compilers, the *ordre primitif*; [2] which of course was based, generally speaking, upon the administrative divisions of the period. This being so, the first step is obviously to separate off series from documents which so far as can be seen have never formed part of a series—*pièces isolées*. Up to this point we are in complete agreement with the Authors of the *Manuel*; we may go further with them in saying that if or when the contemporary organization of administration differs in any respect from that of the Archives, the Archive arrangement must have first consideration with us; it is quite true that Administration may have had divisions and subdivisions into which archive organization did not follow it: in such circumstances nothing is to be gained from a modern attempt to force the archives into complete agreement with the administrative scheme; since we only wish to put our Archives back into

they may become possessors of a few documents merely because these have a local (topographical) interest or a partial local connexion.

We cannot help noticing further with regret a suggestion which seems to lend colour to the above warning in the recently published *Annuaire* of Belgian Archives (*Les Archives de l'État en Belgique* . . . 1914–18, p. 346), where the view is advanced that the documents in certain cases which had been *portés en cassation* to the Aulic Court and are now in the Imperial Archives at Vienna belong to the Court of first instance in Belgium in which they were originally tried and should be returned accordingly.

[1] See Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 4, on the distinction between the *Dépôt* and the *Fonds*.

[2] *Ibid.*, §§ 16 and 17.

the state in which contemporary needs obliged them to be kept; there might always be administrative activities which are not represented in documents.

After this point, however, we find ourselves, with great diffidence, raising certain difficulties in connexion with the accepted continental theory of arrangement. Thus the Authors of the *Manuel* insist strongly [1] upon the necessity for a scheme of arrangement under which all original Archive series go to form the skeleton of modern classification; they are its *lignes principales*: and going further the Authors envisage a classification under which a single *ligne capitale* (a single series consisting normally of *Résolutions* but conceivably of other archive types) forms the backbone of that frame which the Archivist, after the fashion of a palaeontologist reconstructing the skeleton of a prehistoric animal, is to build up. All other archives will, of course, be subsidiary to these main series.

This arrangement, which is expressed by Mr. Johnson [2] in a division of the Archive Group into the *Main Record* on the one hand and *subsidiary classes* on the other, is an excellent method which, when it will work, displays Archives to the greatest possible advantage. An admirable example of it might be taken from the Archives of the English Chancery.

Suppose, for example,[3] that in the fourteenth century an Abbey required a confirmation of certain charters. It sent up these muniments with a *petition* which was presented to the king or his secretary, who forwarded it with a *letter under the privy seal* to the Chancellor instructing him to view the charters and make out the confirmation. The Chancellor, after viewing the originals, made out a *draft* confirmation which was handed to the engrossing clerk, who made out the required charter and handed the draft to the clerk of the enrolments and the fair copy to the Clerk of the Hanaper. The first of these made a copy on the *Charter Roll* and the second saw to the sealing of the charter and the payment of the necessary fine which he

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 20 *et seqq.* [2] pp. 10 and 11.

[3] I am indebted to my colleague Mr. C. G. Crump for the suggestion of this example.

entered in his *Accounts*. So the Charter went away to the Muniment Room of the Abbey. The Chancery was left with a copy on the Charter Roll (its *main record*) and (1) a letter of privy seal on the file of warrants for the great seal; (2) the petition of the Abbey which should be in the same place; (3) a draft for the charter which should be found, if it survived, on one of the Miscellaneous Files: all these being *subsidiary* to the enrolment. The Hanaper Account went away to be a subsidiary record elsewhere (in the Exchequer).

Now it is true that we have seen in this instance the classification of original series as 'principal lines' and one of them as the 'Main Record', while the loose documents fall into rank as subsidiaries—we have seen this classification working admirably. We cannot, however, be satisfied that this, in the capacity of a model for Archive arrangement, will invariably give satisfaction. What of the case where no original series, or at any rate no Main Record, can be found in what is yet an important archive group? To carry on the metaphor from Palaeontology employed by its Authors, the *Manuel* does not seem to provide for the case of the invertebrate.

Let us examine for a moment the method of Archive-making employed, for example, in many modern Public Offices in England.[1] Here the custom is at present to keep in a cover, known sometimes as a 'jacket', all papers relating to a particular case, a particular piece of business, or a series of small cases of the same kind. This jacket then includes original letters received, copies of letters dispatched, memoranda of the official who dealt with the business at each successive stage, and even minutes of superior authority or information derived from other departments of the same office. Impossible to split those up into series[2] of letters, minutes, memoranda, &c., for the reference from one to another is generally by citation merely of their numerical order in the 'jacket'; equally impossible to distinguish between the work of superior and inferior officials

[1] This method has just been adopted (1920) in one Division of the Supreme Court (the King's Bench).

[2] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 29.

at different stages of the transaction because both will use the same minute sheet.

This case gives us our most concrete but by no means our only difficulty. Even where the Archives can (as is, indeed, generally the case among the more ancient Archive Collections) be divided up into *series* and *pièces isolées* we are met only too frequently by the difficulty which results from what Professor Tout has called the fluidity of medieval institutions. Archive series which we have classed in our minds as 'main' and 'subordinate' or 'draft' and 'final' change places with bewildering frequency and in the most casual manner: a series which in its early days contained everything there was to be said upon a certain branch of administration, when examined at a later stage proves to be the merest shell continued simply because it is no one's interest to stop it; a subsidiary series throws off (but at what point no one can say) another,[1] which in due time becomes of the most obviously 'main' character; documents which have been scattered casually and only intermittently preserved assume without warning the proportions of a carefully kept series.[2] In fine, any system of arrangement which depends upon the distinction between archives which formed original series and those which did not caters only for evolved archives, not for those in a state of evolution; and in this country, at any rate, the stages of evolution were spread in some cases over centuries. To make the system apply to Archives in their evolutionary stages would necessitate a review of our previous observations at frequent intervals in the light of fresh developments in the structure of the Archives in question; and a fresh start each time in the matter of classification.

Reconstruct from an examination of surviving archive series the skeleton of the thirteenth-century Exchequer; you have no doubt a most accurate piece of work: put this forward as representing the sixteenth or even the fifteenth-century

[1] For example, the *Exchequer of Pleas Plea Rolls*, which were almost certainly split off from the *Memoranda Rolls* of the Exchequer.

[2] For many examples of the gradual evolution of Archive classes see the earlier sections on Differentiation (above, Part II, § 1).

Exchequer, and you will be merely misleading: yet the *Pipe Roll* series, the backbone of your thirteenth-century Exchequer, is still a flourishing Archive series in the later period.

The trouble here is not that the system of arrangement based on a distinction between original series and isolated documents goes too far, but that it does not go far enough. Its authors, we may suggest (since we are venturing on criticism), are quite right in saying that the system of arrangement should aim at reconstructing and displaying the primitive organism whose remains we are considering; but is that a thing which their system is capable of doing? in point of fact it cannot be relied upon in all cases to produce this result; and if it does not it will leave the student as confused as ever.

(*s*) *Arrangement: another suggestion.* Since then our troubles are mainly due to the difficulty of dealing with Archives whose organization is still in a state of evolution, we may suggest that it would be better to give up any idea of arranging them upon a scheme which presupposes that this organization can be defined once and for all; and go back to our study of the Evolution of Archives in order to find out how far we may lay down rules or principles for their detailed arrangement. And in the first place we may ask—is there anything in the modern fashion of making Archives which should exclude them from the operation of general rules as to archive treatment? After all modern archives still consist—must still consist—of the same three varieties of documents as the older collections.

The answer is that such Archives should present no difficulty. It will be remembered that differentiation of separate classes from a bulky 'Miscellanea' class took place for various reasons; primitively (we suggested) because a number of documents were about the same size and shape; but also because they dealt with the same business; or again because they dealt with the same class of business and were therefore cast in the same form. The medieval administrators, extremely devoted to form, differentiated chiefly on the last of these three grounds, and have left us enormous series of documents all of the same kind—Rolls of Letters Patent, Rolls of Charters, Rolls of Accounts,

Rolls of Pleadings at Law, Registers of Muniments, Files of Inquisitions, Files of Warrants, and the rest. The post-Medieval period, following the tradition, though it had broken away from many of the forms, kept its Proceedings and the copies of its Out-Letters in Minute and Entry Books, but left a large part of its In-Letters (the State Papers) in a 'Miscellanea' condition from which many of them were not drawn till they came into the hands of the 'Methodizers' who arranged them under headings interesting to the later Historian. The Modern Administrator, helped by Typewriters and Transfer-papers which make the taking of copies easy, by the modern facilities of transit for minute papers, and by the invention of card-indexing which enables a working index to be kept continually up to date, has simply gone back to the old system of a common stock of *Miscellanea* differentiated out into numerous files on the basis of subjects—the subjects with which his office is dealing: he may or may not, by means of the references given to the files or jackets, differentiate them again into classes of business done corresponding roughly with the functional divisions of the office. But all that has happened in this apparent revolution in administrative methods is that the modern administrator or business man has gone back to the more primitive varieties of archive making. We shall have more to say upon this point when we come to consider the question of the Archives of the future. For our present purpose we have only to note once more that any system of arrangement which we may devise cannot be satisfactory if it does not contain a place for these very simple Archives.

(*t*) *Arrangement: Class Headings.* In Appendix V (ii) we have worked out in the form of a Chart the Records of the process of Issue at the Exchequer of Receipt; and have demonstrated without difficulty that the attempt to arrange them in accordance with the 'Main Record' formula inevitably breaks down because of their fluid and changing character. It is in fact quite clear that we must resign any attempt, in the case of this portion of the Exchequer of Receipt (and the Department as a whole merely presents an enlargement of the same

problem), to make of any one series a main line to which all the rest might be regarded as subordinate. On the other hand we have here undoubtedly a large number of original series which must form the basis of any arrangement of the Archives. The difficulty is to see any way in which they can be combined so as to represent an orderly sequence, an organic whole. Placed on paper in any order under the heading 'Exchequer of Receipt—Liberate Rolls, Issue Rolls, and original writs' they appear merely as a confusing succession of experiments. What is the best plan for arranging them and is it one which can be laid down in the form of a general principle governing the making of all Inventories of Archives?

We may venture to claim that the Archive series we have chosen for illustration, complicated as they are, do appear in our chart as bearing some relation to each other and as playing intelligible parts in an intelligible whole. As we have said before, the use of the chart is not practicable on a large scale; and it is possible that it may be more difficult, in any substitute we can devise for the graphic method, to bring out the way in which series appear, break off, reappear, run parallel, supersede others, and so forth. But the fact that they do find their places in a single whole remains. It may be difficult to fit them together as parts of an active organism (possibly, for one thing, because they represent only fragments of the original body), but they are here collected without any difficulty or incongruity under a single heading. That heading—*Issue*—is taken from one of the functions of the Administration which produced them: i.e. we have merely carried one step farther the policy of grouping archives on a system which follows that of the Administration of which they formed a part.[1]

Now it is quite true that we must not depend upon the divisions of an Administration according to its functions for the lines upon which we divide our archives;[2] in this sense, that

[1] Cp. M. Cuvelier's statement of the problem in his article 'Les Archives' in the *Revue des Bibliothèques et des Archives en Belgique* (1903): 'qu'il faut . . . donner dans l'inventaire une image exacte de l'organisme ou de l'institution dont on veut faire connaître les Archives.'

[2] See above, paragraph (*r*).

we must not map out Administrative divisions and try to force our Archives into them. But if we admit that Administrative Functions have not always (as they certainly have not) series of Archives into which they refer, that is not to say that the converse is true. In point of fact Archive series must always refer into some Administrative Function, because without it they themselves would never have come into existence. A single Archive series may refer into a single function or into two or more, or it may refer sometimes into one and sometimes into another ; but refer it must into one at least. If, then, upon an examination of our Archive resources we decide which functions of the original Administration had Archive representation, we may proceed to utilize these Functions as headings under which to arrange our series (repeating a series under more than one heading where necessary) ; and may feel quite sure that the arrangement is based upon the facts of archive history.

We have now arrived at an arrangement which may be summarized as follows. All the Archives in a *Dépôt* are divided up into *Fonds* or *Archive Groups* : within an Archive Group we may have *Divisions* or sub-groups : these in turn are to be described under the *Functions of the Administration* which produced them (these Functions being used as *General Headings* for classes of documents) : the classes themselves consist of *Series of Archives* representing the original arrangement.

(*u*) *Old Series, New Series, and Miscellanea.* So far we have dealt only with the original series of Archives—the continuous collections of Rolls, of Registers, or of Files of documents of the same kind which, as we saw, it was the first duty of the Archivist to sort out of any collection he found it necessary to arrange. The completion of this, however, will leave him as a rule with a large quantity still of unplaced documents. From these he will naturally proceed to sort out any fragments of original series which the accidents of time or human ignorance may have broken up, but which he may be able to reconstruct from the evidence of their own nature, of other series, or of external facts such as the remains of an old numeration or the statements in a treatise : it need hardly be said that this must be done, if

the series so formed are to be assigned the value of original ones, with extreme caution. This done, and finding that he has still a considerable number of 'unplaced', the Archivist may, if the quantity of documents of an obviously similar[1] nature warrants it, and if there is nothing (such as the survival of an original file[2] of a more 'miscellaneous' character) to show that the original compilers of the Archives deliberately kept to a less sophisticated arrangement—under such conditions the Archivist may further go on to make up from them such files or volumes as the original compilers might reasonably be expected to have made, i.e. files such that he will be able to place them beside the existing original ones in the arrangement already described.

But when all this has been done our Archivist will almost certainly find that even so he is still left with a quantity of unplaceables, the ultimate part of the *Ancient Miscellanea* of which we have spoken in an earlier section. With regard to the treatment of these genuine isolated documents many rules might be laid down.[3] For one thing they must be described separately, piece by piece; clearly a whole collection of them cannot be left with no better treatment than the description of 'Miscellaneous' or 'various': so that we get the apparent anomaly that the (more important) original and regular files or series claim less space and attention in an Inventory than these 'miscellaneous' ones. Again, the Archivist should always remember that the fact which governs both the dating and the position of a document among archives is the fact of its arrival at its final destination: for example, the private account absorbed as a voucher into *Exchequer Accounts* belongs to the year of audit at the latter so far as Archives are concerned, though it may have a much earlier date upon it; similarly an original letter belongs to the Archives of the person or depart-

[1] Normally, documents of a dissimilar form (copies and originals, for example) would not get on to the same file, and though special cases may occur in original files the Archivist making up an artificial file should not copy this usage: cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 29.

[2] On the subject of the breaking up of original files see the separate paragraphs (*u*) below and (*d*) above.

[3] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 26 to 28.

ment by whom it was received,[1] or if it passed through several hands, the last person to whom it passed.[2] The observation of such elementary rules as these is of course obligatory; but outside them it is better not to bind the Archivist to the employment of any one system in his arrangement of purely miscellaneous *pièces isolées*. So long as he destroys no Archive evidence he can do no harm, even if he is wrong, in arranging them upon the system—alphabetical, chronological, formal, or what not—which seems to him best adapted to the needs of the case. And, if we may venture to recapitulate, provided he observes the two simple rules already propounded—accession numbering and the rule that no original file, fastening, or binding is broken up—any re-arrangement he may effect is in the nature of an experimental one only and cannot be dangerous.

(*v*) *The case of Archives misplaced or never arranged.* The Archivist may, upon the most careful consideration, conclude that a document or a series of documents, found perhaps in definite physical connexion with a certain Archive group, belongs to another: for example, a Minute Book of the 'Society for Constitutional Information' (a revolutionary Society of the late eighteenth century, whose papers were impounded by the Treasury for the purpose of certain Treason Trials)[3] made its first public appearance as *African Company* No. 1357; clearly through an accident due to the fact that this Company's Muniments also passed into the possession of the Treasury.[4] Again the Archivist may decide that a whole section of an Archive Group, or possibly all its archives, represent a complete absence of any arrangement by the original compilers, other perhaps than filing in a rough chronological order. Both these cases raise the same question—is the Archivist ever justified in breaking up Original Files or a well-established original order,[5]

[1] Cf. the example of a letter written by a member of the Cely family, quoted above, paragraph (*a*): see also our definition of Archives and the case of Cartularies and other Archives quoted above, § 2 (*e*).

[2] Cf. the case of the petition of an Abbey instanced above (*r*).

[3] The remainder of the Society's Archives are in the Treasury Solicitor's Papers. The trial for which they were used was probably that of Horne Tooke in 1794.

[4] When the Company was abolished by statute in 1820.

[5] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 19. The suggestion of breaking up (even excep-

even when he is convinced that it is the result either of accident or of lack of design in the time of the original compilers ? and could he carry such procedure so far as to transfer archives from one Archive group to another ? If we reply ' Yes ' we are clearly compromising : though the Authors of the *Manuel* seem disposed to do so it cannot be denied that the procedure goes against their, and our, expressed plan of preserving, even of reconstructing, the conditions in which the original compilers of the Archives thought fit to leave their documents. The writer's personal feeling is in favour of refusing to do more than to re-arrange on paper ; leaving the physical arrangement, where there is definite arrangement, such as a contemporary filing string, in the state in which we find it. At the same time there might conceivably be circumstances which made this supremely inconvenient ; for example, a really large mass of miscellaneous documents bearing no trace of arrangement other than a hasty filing or binding in no particular order, by their original compilers. Cases may be imagined in which the most conscientious Archivist would conclude that the policy of compromise was best. We shall perhaps do well to make no definite rule against such procedure, but merely to say that the Archivist who adopts it is taking a very grave responsibility. Exceptions may prove Rules, but he is a bold man who will set out to prove his most important Rules in that way.

Nothing we have said here, of course, is to be taken as preventing an Archivist from altering, after suitable deliberation and with the precautions already described,[1] the arrangements undoubtedly due to an archivist, his predecessor. What is to be guarded against is the alteration of anything done by the original administrator, the person or body who compiled the Archives : because what they did is a part of the Archive itself.

(*w*) *The making of the Inventory.* We have been assuming all this time that the written and printed result of our arrange-

tionally) original files is of course in contravention of our previously expressed rule : see above paragraphs (*d*) and (*u*) of this section.

[1] The precautions are those touching the preservation of old references and old lists and the addition of notes by the Archivist.

ment is to be an Inventory : not a List, Index, Calendar, or any other of the known forms taken by books made up out of Archives.[1] This is because our plan of arrangement has been throughout to place the Archives in such a position that they themselves explain their Archive existence ; and the obvious complement to this is a summarizing of the result upon paper. We may proceed, then, to note some technicalities with regard to the making of the Inventory. To the first of these it will be better to assign a separate paragraph.

(*x*) *Final Packing and Numeration.* The interests in which Archives are consulted and consequently the order in which they may be demanded varies almost infinitely; but as they can only be packed and referred to in one order we shall naturally make this conform to the order of our Inventory, which is the Archive order. Series will generally run in something like uniform shapes and sizes, and therefore they will, on the whole, best suit the convenience of those responsible for the actual packing on the shelves. Where an exceedingly square class follows after an eminently round one such modifications as are necessary must be made when the documents reach the repository itself by means of cross references from one press to another, or any other convenient method.

It may strike the Archivist as inconvenient that the classes within the Inventory are not arranged in such a way as to make it easy to pick out a single one at will. In that case the Inventory when made should be furnished with an Alphabetical Index of classes.

So far we have divided up the mass of Archives with which we may be supposed to be dealing into :

(i) *Archive Groups* labelled with the name of the Administrative Department which produced them : say, for example, EXCHEQUER. We may have further :

(ii) *divisions* of these representing independent administrative organizations separated off from (i) : these are labelled in the like manner ; for example, EXCHEQUER OF RECEIPT.

[1] The doctrine of ' Transcriptions partielles mais inventaires complets ' was first laid down by Moreau in 1774.

We have then sorted out the *original series* and the *unclassified documents* belonging to a *division*, and from the latter have extracted what we may call *made series*, which we have set beside the *original* ones. Finally, we have arranged in the most suitable way we can devise the still unclassified documents. And we now proceed to bind up everything which is not bound—*original series*, *made series*, or *unclassified* into volumes or files (unless of course their nature, as in the case of large rolled maps, forbids it). All our series and files or volumes we propose to range under

(iii) *subdivisions* representing the Administrative Functions which produced them; for example, ISSUE. Our subdivisions will presumably fall into

(iv) *classes* representing the original or newly-made series—for example, ISSUE ROLLS: or in some cases a combination of several of these (where they are very small); one of these classes will be composed of the *Unclassified* or *Miscellanea*. We shall now have one more numbering for

(v) *individual documents* (primary numbers) within the classes. These in turn will have a page or membrane numeration; or, in the case of files of single documents, sub-numbers.

We have to consider the best numeration for these. For this purpose the Archivist has to balance between the inconveniences of running numbers which mount up to enormous figures and the liability to confusion attendant on meticulous subdivision: the latter, however, having this great advantage that the more series of numbers and sub-numbers you have the more easily can you add subsequent discoveries.

Merely by way of a suggestion we put forward the following:—

for (i) a name or letter.

for (ii) hundred numbers (the Upper Exchequer subdivisions being, say, 101, 102, &c., the Exchequer of Receipt, 401, 402, 403, and so on).

for (iii) the third and second figures of these hundred numbers.

for (iv) and (v) two further series of numbers from 1 upwards separated by oblique strokes.

for page or membrane numbers or sub-numbers a further series within brackets.

The reference then to (Archive Group) EXCHEQUER; (Division) RECEIPT; (subdivision) ISSUE; (Class of Archive) ISSUE ROLL; (Number) 5 would appear in something like the following form:

E. 402/3/5.

While a single document in the *Unclassified Class* would appear with one further number, thus:

E. 402/18/7(14).

This suggested arrangement will be found in Chart form in Appendix V (iii).

Various modifications will suggest themselves in the course of practical work: the Archivist is only advised to make up his mind what his needs are likely to be and adopt, and if possible keep to, a single system.

So far we have been dealing with the slips. We now turn to the documents themselves. The temporary reference on them is struck through (but not obliterated) and the new one added: we have already suggested that it is a good plan to mark accession numbers on the document itself and reference numbers on a label attached to it. The documents then receive their final packing in the new order.

(*y*) *The Making of the Inventory: continued.* To return to the making of the Inventory. We have dealt with the classes that are to figure in it and with the method of numeration to be employed, but have omitted so far the question of the order in which the classes are to come—an important matter if the arrangement is, as we desired, to act as an exposition of the character and meaning of the whole Archive Group. This may be settled by an introductory note which it is advisable[1] to prefix to the Inventory in which the evolution of the Archives

[1] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 61. The History of the Exchequer of Receipt given in App. V (i) is a rather elaborate example.

forming the Group in question is set out, together with the history of the Administration which produced them: the order in which the various Archive classes appear in this account will naturally be followed [1] in arranging the order of the classes in the body of the Inventory. Naturally also the Miscellaneous or Unclassified will come only after all the 'Series' have been dealt with.

For the purposes of an Inventory, where the entry of a series takes up only a few lines of writing or type, there can be no objection to *entering a series twice over* (with a cross reference in each case); and it will be highly desirable where a single series refers into two or more functions to insert it in its place under each heading. Makers of Inventories and Indexes are in general too much afraid of this double entry, a most valuable device provided it is adequately distinguished by means of cross references and reserved for special cases—not used where a cross reference by itself would be sufficient.

The filling up of *gaps* in the Group as it appears in the Inventory demands a few words. To take an example: owing to some accident of custody in the past a certain number of volumes from a series of Treasury Archives [2] at the Public Record Office are in the private collection of the Duke of Leeds: it is obviously good sense in such a case to indicate in the Inventory the source from which gaps of this kind may be filled. Similarly where Archives have in the past got into the wrong Group it will be well in inventorying the Group to which they properly belong to include them, calling attention to their present position by means of a cross reference.[3]

As to the description of the various classes or series in the Group we may adopt the ruling of the *Manuel*: [4] it should be the object of the Inventory to give a general idea of the series, not of the pieces contained in it. At the same time a loophole

[1] This again departs a little from the *Manuel* which recommends an order based on the Documentary form of the Archives: an inconvenient method, if only for the reason that forms may change while Functions remain.

[2] e. g. T. 52, Nos. 3 to 6.

[3] Always supposing that the Archivist does not decide to take the risk of transferring them. See above, paragraph (*v*).

[4] § 37.

should be left for exceptional cases: where, for example, the contents of a single volume forming part of a regular series are abnormal (i.e. not of a nature covered by the Introductory Note) the facts should be recorded in the Inventory, which would break off its general description of the series for the purpose. As to the *matter of the Descriptions*,[1] obviously certain items of information must invariably be included. Such are the number of pieces in the series thus summarily described; the gaps in any series, and its covering dates;[2] and all ancient names and references for the series or for items in it; and the covering reference numbers. Touching these (especially the dates) we may remark that the Authors of the *Manuel* in their later sections have endeavoured to secure a standardized phraseology of description. In the present work we have not attached so much importance to this, indeed we have indicated above[3] that in some respects it seems to us very difficult to secure. At the same time it is clear that the individual archivist must at any rate adopt a uniform standard for himself. Possibly the modified standardization suggested by Mr. Johnson may[4] commend itself to him. In any case he will obviously find it necessary to distinguish between the bound volume, the file (documents merely fastened together) and the bundle of loose papers; and again between the binding or filing which is original (made by the Administration which compiled), that which is merely old, and that which is modern.

The items in the Inventory may be given a current number if that seems necessary (it is never very desirable because it may lead to confusion): it will bear, of course, no relation to the

[1] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 35 to 55.

[2] There is one point with regard to dating—see above, paragraph (*q*)—which is not a matter of opinion but a rule. As it is of extreme importance we will venture to repeat it here. *The date of any given document for the purposes of an inventory of the Archive Group is the date at which it came into that Group; not the date of its writing, which may have been years or centuries earlier.* When an inventory is being made this (the earlier) date should be the subject of a footnote or special description. Thus a bundle of private vouchers may properly be *described* as covering the first ten years of Edward III's reign, during which they were made; while they are *dated* and *placed* in the Inventory in the eleventh, the year in which they were used for Audit, and so became Public Records.

[3] Part I, § 7.

[4] p. 44.

reference numbers. We have already referred to the possible need for an alphabetical index of classes. It is to be noted (a point to which we may return later) that if any detailed information as to the Archive classes is to be printed the Inventory would appear to have the first and best claim to such treatment.

(*z*) *Deposited Collections and Transcripts.* So far we have numbered and arranged our Archives and produced an Introduction and Inventory to one or all of the Archive Groups which compose the whole collection. There are, however, two types of Archive to which we have not referred.

The first of these, perhaps, we are hardly entitled to distinguish from our normal collections, considering the opening we have endeavoured to make [1] for the reception by the Archivist (for their own safety and custody's sake) of Archives (perhaps of a purely private character) with which he has officially nothing to do. The Archivist's duty to them may run upon exactly the same lines as that he owes to the 'Group' taken over by him in the regular course of business: i.e. he must regard his responsibility as starting from the moment he takes over custody and must treat the collection thus deposited exactly as if it were an ordinary Archive Group: with this exception, that in stamping them he should use some method which will distinguish them without any question from others whose custody has had a genuinely official character. This done the Collection will be subject to exactly the same rules of keeping, arranging, and inventorying; but it will be even more objectionable than usual [2] to transfer items from it to another (and more official) Archive Group to which they may appear to belong.

Collections of Transcripts [3] from Archives elsewhere may

[1] Above, Part II, § 3. Note that the Pershore Cartulary now in the Archives of the Augmentation Office (above Part II, § 2 (*e*)) belongs properly to this class; or would have done, if the class had been in existence when it was added to that Repository.

[2] See above, (*v*).

[3] The Public Record Office, for example, possesses a considerable collection derived from foreign Archives of all kinds and made at various dates from the times

sometimes be, from the Historian's and other student's point of view, very desirable inmates of an Archive Repository. If they are there the best way to treat them is to consider them Archives of the Repository itself, dating from the time of their arrival there, and to give them custody accordingly: this will give them as time goes on a certain limited Archive value. They must not, of course, on any account be incorporated to any (even the smallest) extent in Original Groups in which they might fill gaps, and it is even doubtful whether they should be referred to in the Inventories of these; which in point of fact can equally easily refer to the originals from which the Transcripts are made. Perhaps if this last is done footnotes may refer the student for his convenience to the copies existing in the Office.

(*aa*) *Repository Lists.* We may now come to the question of the remaining needs of the Archives themselves in the matter of means of Reference, as opposed to the needs of students with whose requirements we are to deal in the next section. The first need is obviously a *General Directory* or *Summary Inventory* to the whole of the collections housed in our Repository. The order in which the various Archive Groups figure in this way may be any that the Archivist finds convenient—an Alphabetical one suggests itself. The order of the classes within the Groups will be that of their references, i. e. the same as that of the *Inventory*; because here it will be generally desired to look up a document by its Reference Number. The information which the *Summary Inventory* will be desired to give will be—

the classes (it will not, of course, go into further detail) in each Archive Group;
the number of 'pieces' (i. e. primary numbers—not sub-numbers) in each of these;
the dates covered by each class;
the class reference number;
the place in the Repository occupied by each class.

of the early nineteenth century Record Commission onwards; similarly the Canadian Archives are being enriched with large quantities of transcripts from the Public Record Office, doubtless of great importance for historical purposes.

If a copy of the *Summary Inventory* is made available to any other than members of the Staff of the Repository the last mentioned item should be suppressed in it.

Next, every Room or other Department into which the Repository is divided will need a reproduction of the relevant portion of the *Summary Inventory* with more detailed information as to the references of documents placed on each section of shelving: this will be kept on the spot for convenience in finding readily any required document. We may call it the *Room* or *Shelf List*.

Thirdly, there will be necessary a *Class List* for every class giving the information which is left out of the Inventory, i.e. the detailed numbering and date of every document or collection of documents in a series as well as of the separate documents in the *Miscellaneous* class. *Per contra* this List may omit all the introductory and explanatory matter contained in the Inventory, its sole object being to act as a Catalogue.

(*bb*) *Indexes*. Finally, we come to the subject of *Indexes*, which we may best treat separately. We shall have occasion to refer again in the next section to the making of Indexes, Repertories, and Calendars in manuscript as well as to those which are designed for printing. In any large Archive Repository there will be a considerable accumulation of such works. Some will be modern ones, some the work of earlier Archivists, and some contemporary with the Archives, themselves of an Archive character and preserved as such.[1] If the total of these is at all large it will be found a good plan to have a *List of all Indexes*, whether printed or MS., ordinary or of an Archive character.[2] This List will be arranged to correspond with the order of the *Summary Inventory*; but might well, like the Inventory, have an Alphabetical Index of Classes.

[1] There are large quantities of these in some of the modern Departmental Archives at the Public Record Office (e. g. those of the Admiralty and the War Office); but perhaps the greatest number come in the form of such works as *Cause Books* from the Courts of Law.

[2] At the Public Record Office the 'Archive Character' Indexes are withdrawn from their classes, given an extra numbering, and kept all together in an easily accessible place: they amount at present to about 15,000.

We shall deal in the next section with other means of reference which the Archivist, having discharged in the manner described his duty to his Archives, may prepare for the benefit of the student. Meanwhile we would emphasize first the fact that those mentioned so far are constructed *in the interests of the Archives*; and secondly the fact that we have done no more than to lay down the main lines for an Archivist's conduct: the individual Archivist need not feel himself prevented from improving on our system, but only from leaving out any of the bare necessities we have enumerated.

§ 7. *The Archivist, the Administrator, and the Historian*

We shall have occasion in the next part to point out the very distinct positions occupied in the matter of Archives, by the Archivist and the Administrator who compiles Archives; but the difference is even more strongly marked between the Archivist and the Historian. We have already given some hint of this in our opening sections, but must now emphasize it: the Archivist is not and ought not to be an Historian. He will need, of course, some knowledge of History and may be interested in it personally, just as he may be interested in Metallurgy or any other science: but his duty is to his Archives, independently of any of the Research subjects (of which at present History is the most prominent) which make use of Archives for their own ends; and therefore an interest in any of these subjects, since it might give him a prepossession in favour not only of a subject but also perhaps of a school of opinion within that subject, might be more than inconvenient or inappropriate, it might be positively dangerous. Most of the bad, sometimes damaging, work which has been done upon Archives in the past, from the 'methodizing' of them down to the publishing of expensive calendars conforming so closely to the desires of one generation of students that they were quite useless for the purposes of the next—most of the bad and dangerous work done in the past may be traced to external enthusiasms resulting in *a failure on the part of the Archivist to*

treat Archives as a separate subject. In relation to his charges the Archivist should be a modern only so far as strictly modern questions of buildings, custody, and the like are concerned: for the rest he should be all things to all Archives, his interests identified with theirs, his period and point of view theirs. This may be a personal disadvantage to him; but it is a duty inherent in the career of an Archivist and should be faced.

The Archivist, then, is the servant of his Archives first and afterwards of the student Public. It follows that when, but not before, he has done all that is necessary by his Archives his duty is to devote himself to publication in the interests of Research workers. It may be maintained with some force in many cases that his first duty, adequately carried out, would leave him no leisure for his second; but in any case (and we will assume here that he is to have some leisure to devote to the special requirements of the student, and in particular of the Historian) there is a clearly marked distinction between his two duties and positions. In the first he himself must be the judge of what is required and should allow no external interference in the matter of arrangement, for example, and of the resulting lists which we have been discussing: up to this point the Archivist has been within his own province, and we have seen no occasion to consult the Historian or any other scientist. But in his second position and capacity (if he is able to take it up) he is no longer the expert on his own ground but simply the servant of the Public; and the Public, which pays, is entitled to indicate what shall be done; though it is incidental to the Archivist's necessary qualities that he will probably be able to offer a sound opinion if called upon. The late Royal Commission commented with an appearance of some surprise [1] upon the arrangement by which, in certain countries, matters relating to the publication of Archives are in the hands of an unofficial Committee of Historical and other experts. But this is perfectly logical and quite right. Though, as we said, knowledge incidentally acquired may enable the Archivist to give valuable help to such

[1] *First Report*, ii, p. 139: 'in the Netherlands Archivists are regarded as being chiefly occupied with the custody and arrangement of Archives . . . ': cf. *ibid.*, p. 129.

a Committee, it is not for him to decide what publications the Public requires or what are most needed for the advance of Historical or some other form of Research.

§ 8. *Secondary Duties of the Archivist*

We will suppose, then, that the completion, temporarily, of all essential Archive work leaves the Archivist free to produce work to meet the special requirements of students.

(*a*) *The Guide.* The first requirement may probably be held to be a General Guide to the contents of the Repository. This will be a small matter if the system of arrangement advocated above has been followed, for it will consist roughly speaking of a combination of all the Introductions and Notes from all the Inventories, condensed as far as possible, *plus* a modicum of information from the body of the Inventory as to dates and (in some cases) quantities.

(*b*) *Indexes and Repertories.* After the Guide will come work upon some class or series of Archives selected on account of its public interest. An Archivist may perhaps be permitted to plead for the dedication of most work to the earlier periods because materials at those dates are fewer and more difficult to understand without modern means of reference: he may also put in a plea for systematic, not sporadic, work.

It is generally agreed that mere lists, such as we have described, are not worth printing; provided, of course, that the *Inventories* have been made and published. The work done for the special purposes of the student will take the form of *Indexes*; the more elaborate *Descriptive Indexes* to which we have here applied the name of *Repertories*; *Calendars*, that is to say, abstracts of the originals intended to serve for all ordinary purposes in lieu of consultation of the document; or full *Transcripts*, whether transliterations of the original or translations of it into another language.

With regard to the first of these—*Indexes*—little need be said: they are subject to the ordinary rules of indexing with a few special provisions due to the nature of the things indexed.

If the Index be one of subjects it should be made as full as possible, the compiler remembering that his object is not to show whether existing and known interests are represented in the Archives under consideration but what are (all) the subjects with which those Archives deal; i. e. the Index should be of such a nature as to be equally good now and a hundred years hence, when the centres of interest will probably have shifted. All indexers should study for their instruction the indexes to the Close and Patent Rolls of John published by the Record Commission in 1833 and 1835; which were no doubt considered quite adequate at that time and are now for many students practically worthless.

Subject Indexes should also have as many cross references and as few subject headings as possible; in other words, they should group the subjects very carefully. 'Oxen: p. 379' conveys little information: but 'AGRICULTURE; Animals used for draught; *Oxen*', with a cross reference from 'Oxen' to 'AGRICULTURE' is a very different matter.

The indexing of *Persons* and *Places* is a straightforward matter except in cases of documents of some antiquity where variations of spelling and title abound. The best rule in these cases is that every name should be identified with its modern equivalent (but only if the latter is a certainty). This should be followed in the index by a list of all the variants in lexicographical order and that by the page or other references: the variants themselves should be cross-referred to the modern form. Where the modern form is uncertain that one of the variants which most commends itself must be taken instead and the same procedure followed.

Many other rules for indexing might be laid down, but most of them are in point of fact statements of convenience rather than of principle and as such may be omitted here. It is well to leave as much scope as possible to the individual Archivist or school of Archivists: the Indexer cannot go very far wrong who combines ordinary intelligence with clearness, uniformity within the bounds of his own work, and a completeness going to the edge of the meticulous.

(*c*) *Calendars.* But an Index or Repertory, whether in manuscript on the shelf of a Students' Room or circulated in print, is of little use without the Documents to which it refers. More favoured forms as a rule are those of the *Calendar* or the full *Transcript.* We may note in passing that where modern documents are concerned, in which the reading of the script presents no difficulty, a certain proportion of the work done up to now by the printed Calendar may in future be done by the Photostat [1] Machine to which we have already referred; though there still remains, before the Photostat can be of service, the initial application to the document (or some substitute, calendar, or transcript) for the purpose of discovering the points which interest.

The detailed Rules for calendaring and transcribing are still a matter of controversy. Probably, however, few would deny that it must be their object to represent the document as much, and the Editor as little, as possible. Thus in the case of the Calendar it would probably be agreed that it is absurd, if a literal translation will meet the case, to use any other: absurd to translate two or three phrases in Latin or French by the same phrase in English, though this is frequently done.[2] The writer has long held the view that the only safe way to calendar is by the use in every possible instance of the actual wording and language [3] of the original: the Calendarer using this method would rely, for condensing his original, mainly on the excision of redundancies (to be represented in his text by a few dots): occasionally he might preserve a necessary phrase in a shorter modern form making plain the difference between such phrases and those he was quoting exactly by difference of type, the use of inverted commas, or some such device: but in a large number of cases he would find that the use of the

[1] See above, Part II, § 5 (*g*). The Machine is extremely useful in any large Archives. We refer to Photographic processes again below.

[2] In Plea Rolls, for example, *preceptum fuit vicecomiti* refers to the action of the court on a previous occasion, *preceptum est* to its action on the present case: yet both are habitually rendered in English by the same words, 'mandate to the Sheriff'.

[3] i. e. I would go so far as to 'calendar' medieval Latin documents in medieval Latin.

words of the original was actually more economical of space and (if he had the services of a not very skilled helper) of time.

Other difficulties are those connected with details in the original such as peculiarities of spelling and punctuation. It is hardly necessary to quote in order to prove that there are cases where peculiarities of this kind are of no moment compared with other points in the document and again cases where they are the key to its character.[1] Is the transcriber then to decide on the merits of every individual case whether he shall or shall not produce the most faithful possible rendering of his original? surely there can be only one answer to such a question: he must follow a uniform system; and since peculiarities of this nature are often of the first importance he must reproduce them to the best of his ability in every case.

(*d*) *Printed Transcripts.* The discussion of this point of accuracy in reproducing the characteristics of the original has led us into what is more strictly the province of the Editor who is preparing a *full transcript* than of the *Calendarer*. Now the transcriber's duty is, on the surface, quite clear: he is to give to a student resident in Newcastle such a rendering of a document housed in London as will make the journey from one end of England to the other for the purpose of consultation unnecessary: moreover, he is to cater at the same time for an unknown number of other students with interests varying to an equally unknown extent: he has in short no knowledge of any point in his original, even the smallest, which may not conceivably be of interest to one of his readers. Obviously he would meet the case best by means of a series of photographic facsimiles; but apart from the difficulty of expense, another demand is made upon him which makes the use of this expedient impossible—he may be required to expound, among others, documents which, owing to bad writing or decay or the fact that they are in medieval script, a certain

[1] For example, S. P. Domestic Anne, 1, f. 72, is a letter written by one Rebecca Pride, who alleges herself to be daughter of Lord Chandos. The extremely illiterate character of this is obviously an important piece of evidence. I am indebted for this and some other examples to my colleague, Mr. C. S. B. Buckland.

proportion of his readers could not make out for themselves in a facsimile edition.

The problem is no new one. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century archivists have been endeavouring to devise some method of representing a document in type while at the same time eliminating all traces of the third person—the transcriber. It is curious, however, that nearly every one who has been concerned in the matter has to a certain extent compromised between accuracy and convenience. Thus the Record Commission (1800–37) used a most elaborate and expensive special type designed to show the abbreviations of the original; but apparently considered it quite legitimate at the same time to modernize the use of capitals and punctuation; a line along which many more modern authorities have followed them: and so great an authority as Hardy was capable of adding a Latin Title to a Latin Text which he was editing without indicating by any note or alteration of type that he had done so.[1]

What course are we to recommend? In the first place the accurate representation in print of abbreviations in early documents must almost certainly be thrown over as impossible. Apart from this how much can be done? In Appendix VI we have some Rules [2] reprinted which were designed for a Local Record Printing Society. Opinion on the subject is so varied that we will not lay these down as rules but merely call attention to them as a suggestion. They deal, however, with one matter which we should at least press on the attention of all Editors and Calendarers. That is the vital necessity of distinguishing in the text, by means of difference of type, by the use of brackets, or by footnotes, firstly every alteration that has been made in the original; and secondly every departure from

[1] In the *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* (Chronicles and Memorials Series) until this text was compared with the original by my colleague, Mr. A. E. Stamp, it was always taken as an early example of the use of the word *Palatinum*, about which there has been some controversy. Similar examples from texts almost equally well known might be given.

[2] Special attention is called to the fact that procedure varies in different periods and circumstances; but that the principle embodied in these Rules should stand.

the original, in the shape of an emendation, an insertion or an omission, which the Editor himself may make in preparing his edition. Apart from these precautions the Editor, if he decides upon any compromise—such as the correction of punctuation—between fidelity to his original and intelligibility to his reader, should at least do so in a uniform manner throughout and set forth clearly in his preface the course that he has taken.

§ 9. *References to Archives printed or used by Students*

So far we have dealt with the printing or calendaring of Archives on the assumption that this work would be taken up by series ; which is, from an Archive point of view, the only workmanlike and convenient plan. It must not be forgotten, however, that the interest in special subjects and in special forms of documents (the indiscreet application of which as a principle of arrangement has produced in the past, as we saw above, so much trouble among our Archive classes) represents a very genuine need of the Historian in certain cases. A collection of Royal Letters,[1] for example, may be of the greatest importance to him and may involve the printing of isolated documents and portions of series from half a dozen Archive Groups : nor is there any harm in it so long as it is not allowed to interfere with physical arrangement. This and private enterprise in printing abstracts or full transcripts of documents in the most diverse places will result in a short time in an extremely scattered representation of Archives in print. This brings us back to a purely Archive matter. It is most important that note should be made in lists—even on labels attached to the documents themselves—of the fact that a printed copy is available and incidentally that some given document does not represent so new a discovery as the enthusiastic student might be led to suppose. If the Archivist is unable to obtain for his

[1] Many examples suggest themselves—Delisle's *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, the series of *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII*, published by the Public Record Office, the *Royal Letters* (Chronicles and Memorials Series) ; all taken not only from various classes but from various Repositories of Archives.

own use copies of all such printings[1] he should at least have a note of the fact and for convenience index all cases of the kind in an Index arranged (once again) in the order of the Summary Inventory.

The Authorities of the *Archives Nationales* do even more and by means of elaborate inquiries into the work done by students in the Salle de Travail preserve an indexed record of such work even where it has not resulted in printed article or book; and the Belgian Authorities go so far as to print some particulars of this character in their annual Reports. The only objection to such a scheme, apart from the labour involved, is that it may tend to impose upon the student more restrictions than are met with (for example) at the London Public Record Office.

[1] In some Archives presentation of copies is made a condition of permission to print.

PART III

MODERN ARCHIVES

§ 1. *Introductory: old Archives and new Tendencies*

We have headed this part 'Modern Archives' but it must begin with a matter left over from Part II. So far we have assumed that the Archivist whose conduct we discussed received invariably the formed collections of the past, that he had always space to house them and that consequently the question whether or no Archives were to be preserved at all did not arise. Unfortunately this is not invariably so in England, nor indeed anywhere: from the very beginning of the modern Archive era the necessity for destruction in certain cases has been put forward. No financial department (to take the case of National Archives) was prepared to undertake the expense of housing and caring for everything which the past had left us in the way of Archives. Thus in England, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Controller General of the Exchequer and the Treasury, faced with the enormous mass of *Exchequer of Receipt* Records which were extracted, as we saw,[1] from the vaults of Somerset House, found it necessary to make provision of what was then thought a considerable amount of money for the purposes of sortation and destruction. The result, even according to the not very high standard of Archive values of that time, was disastrous: we get some faint idea of what occurred from the Minutes of the Select Committee of the House of Lords upon the Destruction and Sale of Exchequer Records:[2] but of the damage actually done we can form no real idea because the Committee would attach little importance to much that we should now consider criminal; so that there was doubtless much destruction of which the

[1] App. V (i) (*m*).

[2] Sessional Papers, House of Lords 1840, No. 298.

Report and Minutes tell us nothing.[1] Nearly forty years later[2] came, after much discussion, the statutory Rules regarding the destruction of Public Records.

If the Archives of the past have by their bulk necessitated, or appeared to necessitate, the formulation of Rules and the provision of machinery for destruction, still more do those of the present and future seem to demand them. The question of destruction is indeed the chief one which we have to discuss in this connexion: for if we are right in the definitions upon which this book is founded the Archives of the future will require, in matters of keeping and custody, neither more nor less of the Archivist than those of the past; but the question of the bulk of present day Archives is a new and serious matter. No longer bound by the necessity for economy in the use of material (since paper is comparatively cheap) or of labour (with the modern facilities for writing, and still more for duplicating, at his disposal), using methods of Archive keeping which, as we have already pointed out,[3] are often of the most primitive kind, and at the same time involved in a system of office work infinitely larger and more complicated than anything the world has seen before, the Administrator of our times, whether servant of the State or private business man, piles up documents with a carelessness of the future which would be sublime if it were not due as a general rule to the simple desire to avoid trouble. In effect, to think whether the copy of a letter is worth making is a troublesome matter. In old days to make the copy was even more trouble and therefore the thinking was done: but now when writing is so commonly practised that it has become a mechanical, not an intellectual, task, the natural tendency is to avoid the painful process of thought; why exert oneself to decide whether four copies of a letter, or any copy at all, are necessary when the difference in labour is only that of putting five sheets instead of one into a machine? why go to the trouble of adding a cross-reference from one file

[1] It transpires in Devon's evidence that on one occasion he just saved a thirteenth-century *Liberate Roll*.

[2] The Act is of 1877.

[3] Above, Part II, § 6 (r).

to another when it is so easy to slip a copy into each? And so has arisen the slipshod manner of archive-making and keeping which, getting beyond all control in the recent times of abnormal national hurry and business, has culminated in the colossal stacks of War Records to which we have already referred. Sometimes modern methods tend in the opposite direction and we find ourselves facing the danger that important administrative processes may not be recorded at all: but as a general rule the problem is rather that of over than of under production. There is real danger that the Historian of the future, not to mention the Archivist, may be buried under the mass of his manuscript authorities; or alternatively that to deal with the accumulations measures may be taken which no Archivist could approve.

§ 2. *The General Practice with regard to Selection and Destruction*

It is not necessary for our present purposes to discuss in detail the various regulations prevailing in England and in other countries [1] with regard to Archive destruction: because all have certain common features which it is our purpose to examine in the light of the standard of Archive values we have already set up. We may, as usual, illustrate, where illustration is necessary, from English Archives. These common features are:

(1) the reasons and justification for destruction;
(2) the method of selecting for destruction, including the precautions considered necessary;
(3) the persons to whom the task of selecting is entrusted.

We shall find it necessary to discuss these from two points of view:

(i) that of the Archives of the past;
(ii) that of Archives of the present and future.

[1] For information on this subject see the Appendices to the *First Report* and *Second Report* of the Royal Commission on Public Records: especially the passage concerning the very careful system in use in France (*First Report*, ii, p. 132).

§ 3. *Destruction : Grounds and Justification alleged*

If, excluding the considerable amount of destruction which has resulted at various times from carelessness, indifference or such ignorance as that which burned the tallies in 1834, condemned the Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt to 'the Vault' and sent those of the King's Remembrancer to rot in the Mews at Carlton Ride[1]—if we look at the history of the practice of Destruction we find a sharply defined difference between destruction as it was carried on in the past, i. e. by the persons who had themselves accumulated the Archives, and that of the present day. One very obvious distinction is that (apart, as we have said, from the losses arising from carelessness and ignorance) no one thinks of criticizing the past for its omission to preserve ; but from 1840 onwards no person or body entrusted with this duty in England has ever been immune from criticism of some sort. Why is this ? simply because the Archives which the past preserved it did not preserve for our information but for its own : how, then, can we blame it if, preserving only for this practical purpose, it found no interest in certain things which (it now appears) we should have been very glad to have. How joyfully would our Elizabethans, for example, welcome more details about Shakespeare such as are given by the *Depositions* discovered some years ago. Yet no one could have blamed the Court of Requests if, as sometimes happened in other cases, it had preserved those particular depositions only in summary or without the precious signature which has been the subject of so much learned writing : the court was merely interested in the (not very important) deposition ; it did not know what an interest posterity would have in the deponent. Much less can we blame the past for all the little Shakespeariana which accident might have preserved in one form of Archives or another, but which it has not. But if the Court of Common Pleas, which regularly, as a part of its official work, preserved the 'feet' of all Fines levied in it, had through carelessness failed to preserve No. 12

[1] Cf. Maitland, *Memoranda de Parliamento* (Rolls Series), Introduction, p. xiii.

on the file for Warwickshire, Easter 39 Elizabeth,[1] then we should have had legitimate ground for complaint.

In a word we can criticize the Past only if it failed to keep up to its own standard of values. But in the case of the Present what is the standard? what is the criterion of Destruction? There is the difficulty, and there the starting-point of criticism. The person or body in our times who is entrusted with the task of destruction has to exercise choice not on the ground of what is useful for the practical purposes of Administration but of what is worth preserving in the interests of History: and it is rare, as we have said, not to find him or them attacked sooner or later either for the choice itself or for the manner in which it has been carried out.

Practically the modern Destroyer can condemn only on two grounds—one that the documents in question duplicate others already in existence, the other that they are of no historic value. We must proceed, then, to investigate these two grounds and the methods by which it is established that upon them any given documents may be condemned.

§ 4. *Destruction: the usual methods of selection for this purpose*

Since we have referred in a previous section to precautions, it may be well, in passing, to mention those necessary to ensure that documents condemned to be destroyed (if there are any such) are destroyed; and not used to wrap up butter or converted into scandalous tambourines: in England certain happenings at the beginning of the nineteenth century (when, for example, documents condemned as valueless proved to be saleable as autographs) have resulted in very careful arrangements to ensure that all such documents are actually pulped or in other ways so disposed of that their career as documents ceases. Here, however, we are concerned rather with the precautions taken to ensure that documents valuable as Archives are not destroyed; and with the methods employed, under those precautions, to reduce the size of archive collections.

[1] The fine by which Shakespeare purchased the estate of New Place in 1597.

(*a*) *Word-for-word Duplicates.* The first remark that occurs to us will probably be that destruction, if it is to be of any use, must be upon a large scale: no person or body entrusted with this work could think it worth while to spend time discussing whether one or two books should or should not be preserved. But this takes us on immediately to another question—how much labour will be involved in deciding whether documents are, or are not, duplicates? because our whole object being essentially the saving of expense we clearly must not make the procedure involved by that saving itself too expensive.

Now the word duplicate may at a pinch bear two meanings. It certainly stands for word-for-word repetition but it may also be taken to mean repetition of the sense, of the content, of a document. We will deal first with the word in its literal meaning.

The moment we begin to think of concrete examples, even if we choose them from the comparatively terse and unvoluminous Middle Ages, we cannot but be staggered by the task we are giving to our Destroyers. Take, for instance, the case of the early *Liberate Rolls*, which we have used so frequently in this volume, and suppose that it were possible and proper to consider that class for the purpose of destruction of duplicates. Very often two of these rolls will be word for word the same until we arrive at one particular point upon which for the moment they diverge, one perhaps including and another omitting: how then can any one hope to decide whether or no two of these documents are duplicates save by means of a word-for-word collation? It may be urged that one can work by series: if Number 1 of Series A and Number 1 of Series B are proved duplicates then let the whole of Series B (let us say) go to destruction without anything more in the way of investigation than a formal check at this point and that. But the case of two series one piece of which duplicates another is exactly the same as that of two registers or rolls or files one portion of which is the same in each: there is no more than a presumption that the remainder is duplicate too.

If it be suggested that we should destroy on such a presumption we can only reply that to do so is to take a considerable risk; and that we have throughout discouraged compromises. Every one with any experience of research work upon Archives must be aware that it is very often the casual reference—the detail accidentally included, the enclosure accidentally left in—which proves to be the one point of particular interest.[1]

It is difficult to see how any one faced with such facts in relation at least to the Archive collections left us by the past can give any opinion other than that which Sir Thomas Hardy[2] gave to the Committee of the House of Lords which was considering in 1877 the whole question of destruction of Archives; when, in answer to the question whether the sanction of a committee for destruction should be given to 'a class of papers or to each individual paper', he replied 'each'.[3] This was in the course of evidence during which the Master of the Rolls (Sir George Jessel) remarked, 'the presumption should be always in favour of keeping records' and 'I think it is the duty of the keeper of the Rolls to preserve them, not to destroy them': remarks which, since they were made during the

[1] The evidence of Sir John Laughton before the Royal Commission (*First Report*, iii, p. 180) provided an admirable example of this from the Admiralty Archives: let us take one or two others (they might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*) from medieval sources. The writer on one occasion was concerned to find out if possible what was meant when a certain Sheriff was described as having paid in at the Receipt money *de diversis debitis*: by sheer chance the original account of this official (which is reproduced on the Pipe Roll and, to the extent of certain details, on the Receipt Roll) had survived and by chance again it slipped in (contrary to practice) an explanation of what these debts were: they were Jewish debts and that one small fact practically established a proof that the popular idea of the famous *Scaccarium Judeorum* as a financial body through which all Jewish money transactions had to pass was erroneous. Even those most obvious of 'duplicates', the Pipe Roll and the Chancellor's Roll, concerning which it is definitely laid down in the *Dialogus* that the second is a copy of the first, are in point of fact at certain periods nothing of the kind, serving frequently in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to correct each other's blunders. The triplicate series of Receipt and Issue Rolls furnish again and again instances where one out of the three rolls contains an added note which is absent from the others; we have used more than one such to illustrate points in the present volume: see e. g. App. V (i) (*f*) note.

[2] Then Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

[3] *Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Public Record Office Bill* (1877), quoted in the Royal Commission's *First Report*, ii, p. 35.

examination of a scheme of destruction put forward by the Master of the Rolls' own department, admirably illustrate at once the way in which Archivists may find themselves oppressed by the bulk of their charges and the extreme difficulty attending any plan for destruction. In fine it is impossible to lay down any procedure for determining whether one document is the duplicate of another except a page for page and line for line collation ; and it is very doubtful whether such work will not prove so expensive as to make destruction hardly worth while.

(*b*) *Museum specimens and composite classes.* Word for word duplication does not cover the whole of the ground usually assigned to destruction : there is also the case where one document duplicates the sense of another. Thus (to turn once more to the medieval Exchequer for an example) the enrolled account does not always reproduce the exact wording of the original account : it sometimes summarizes. There arises the question of destruction in such a case. But before we proceed to discuss this we may deal by anticipation with a special point which is closely connected with it.

There is a tendency in such cases to destroy a series of documents with certain exceptions ; these exceptions being preserved either on what we may call sentimental or aesthetic grounds, because they are fine specimens or contain interesting signatures or pictures or the like, or because they fill gaps in the series which is to be preserved. With regard to the first of these (since it is a question which will arise again when we come to consider the problem of preserving or destroying on grounds of historical interest) we need say no more here than that it is a singularly unscientific method to preserve documents as Archives because they are fine Museum specimens and that it goes contrary to everything we have said in a previous section concerning the necessity of preserving series intact. As to the second, the making up of composite sets from two or more original series, it is a definitely bad practice because it is unnatural, forces archives into forms they did not originally bear, and obscures their meaning : it breaks, in fact, every known rule of classification and arrangement. In effect, if it

were possible to make a reasonable single series from (say) Journals, Ledgers, and Cash Books combined, why did not the original administration which compiled them do so? The Archivist is a bold man who proposes to answer to that question, 'because they did not know their own business'; and in fact any accountant could supply a better reason.

(*c*) *Sense Duplicates.* There is only one point really to be made with regard to these. The idea that any document can be considered to come near duplicating another, unless it is almost word for word the same, is simply erroneous; resting on a very narrow conception of what the student of the future (or for that matter the present) may require of his manuscript authorities. Even a small divergence between two documents can indicate a divergence between two scribes which may be, for any one of a number of reasons, of extreme importance. How much more evidently is this the case when the same matter appears in the forms first (to take the examples we have already used) of a Journal and then of a Ledger. It is clear, therefore, that we may best treat this question of the destruction of 'sense duplicates' under our next division. Since it appears so difficult upon any strict interpretation of Archive principles to destroy Archives upon the ground that they are duplicates we must turn to the other justification—Historical Uselessness.

(*d*) *Documents not considered to be of sufficient value to justify their preservation.* It is disappointing, but we are bound upon examination to give little more encouragement to this proposal than to the first. It does not seem much to demand that any one who is to take upon himself the responsibility of destroying irrevocably Archives which have come down to us from the past should do so on something more than a consideration of his own interests and those of the time in which he lives: he should surely regard himself as a trustee for the future as well as for the present. But in that case who is to fill the rôle? who can project himself into the future and foresee its requirements? Within the last hundred years the enormous collection of *Port Books* now at the Public Record Office was condemned

as valueless.[1] They were made available for public research only a few years ago and yet already they have furnished the basis for important studies in post-medieval economic history[2] besides providing information for research workers on minor but important points.[3] We are not on this account to blame overmuch the judgement of earlier periods; the truth is simply that they were unable to predict the directions which would be taken by the historical interests of the next hundred years: and it is difficult to see how any one can in conscience propose in our own time to do any better for the interests of the future. For example, we have been speaking and thinking throughout this section of the interests of the Historian; but can we even answer for it that in the future the Historian will be the person most interested in the Archives we are leaving behind us? We are left by such considerations as these with a growing conviction that destruction of any of the Archives we have received from the past is a course that a conscientious Archivist must find it difficult to commend.

§ 5. *Destruction of Ancient Archives: who is to be responsible for it?*

This consideration follows directly upon the preceding; and to some extent 'duplicates' it. There has been a general assumption in the past that the task of destruction and the responsibility for it belong to the Archivist. But, putting aside for the moment the question whether destruction of the Archives of the past is a thing proper to be undertaken at all, is destruction of any kind a proper part of the Archivist's business? It has emerged with tolerable clearness from what we have already said that the Archivist is not and should not

[1] By so eminent an authority as Sir Francis Palgrave, among others. See *D. K. Reports*, iv, p. 17, and App. i, p. 24; cp. the *Report* (1833) of the Record Commission. The late Royal Commission has dealt at some length with the history of these Records but does not appear to have drawn from it some very important inferences in regard to destruction (*First Report*, ii, pp. 45 *et seq.*).

[2] N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System* . . . (Cambridge, Mass.: 1918).

[3] e. g. the voyages of the *Mayflower*: cp. a Note by R. P. Marsden in the Royal Commission's *First Report*, ii, p. 49, and recent correspondence in *The Times*.

be primarily concerned with the modern interests which his Archives at any given time may serve. He is concerned to keep their qualities intact for the use, perhaps, in the future, of students working upon subjects which neither he nor any one else has contemplated. His work consequently is that of physical and moral conservation and his interest an interest in his Archives as Archives, not as documents valuable for providing this or that thesis. How then is he to undertake work involving judgement and choice on precisely those matters which are not his concern ? as well expect a Palaeontologist (to borrow once again the old simile) to be interested in the manufacture of bone tooth-brushes as ask the Archivist (in his official capacity) to pronounce judgement upon the merits as historical evidences of a set of archives. At most he might condemn on the ground that some series formed a comparatively unimportant link in the administrative chain of which the remains are in his keeping ; on such grounds he might destroy (for example) some of the medieval records of preliminary audit—a proceeding which could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to the Historian. We are not saying that the Archivist may not have, incidentally, sound opinions upon historical subjects : the Palaeontologist may similarly be well informed as to the merits of different kinds of bone when on the lathe ; but such knowledge is not more than incidental to the business of either.

But if the Archivist cannot be of use, or can only give occasionally assistance, can we not appeal to the Historian ? he seems the obvious person to undertake such a task and, to do him justice, is generally very willing to do so. As soon, however, as the Historian's claims in this connexion are investigated, it becomes clear that the choice of him as arbiter of the fate of archives is at least as open to criticism as that of the Archivist. Putting aside, once again, the doubt already expressed as to whether any one is competent to pronounce upon the probable needs of the future, we are still bound to call attention to other disabilities attaching to the Historian. Must he not be regarded, where his own subject is concerned,

as a person particularly liable to prejudice? Surely there will always remain the suspicion, at least the possibility, that in deciding upon a policy of archive conservation he favoured those archive classes which furthered his own special line of inquiry: how could he, in fact, do otherwise, since presumably he was honestly under the impression that the most important line of investigation in a given period was such and such? But once this possibility is imported into Archives one of their important characteristics is gone or at least gravely imperilled—their unquestioned impartiality: the very fact that a Historian is known to have selected is fatal to it.[1]

Let us repeat once more that up to the present we are dealing only with the collections of Archives which the past has left to us. Summarizing, so far as concerns these, we find the conclusion unavoidable that destruction is an operation which can only be practised with undoubted safety in one case—that of word-for-word duplicates: all other proposed criteria are fallacious; and in any case there is great difficulty in finding suitable persons to carry them out. Moreover, in the one case where the thing is permissible it is doubtful whether destruction in any fashion which can be called safe is not too laborious (and consequently too expensive) to be worth while.

We now turn to a consideration of Archives of the present and future.

§ 6. *Present provision for Destruction; and the Future of Archives*

We should premise that we are here departing from the principle we have maintained so far and no longer considering matters from the point of view of Archivists pure and simple.

[1] It is noticeable that in the evidence before the House of Lords Committee in 1877 already quoted, the proposal to add to any Committee for Destruction an Assessor chosen on account of Historical or Antiquarian eminence was accepted by the official witnesses (the Master of the Rolls and the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records) with the proviso that he should not have a vote. They did not take the same point of view with regard to Archivists: see, however, the opinion of Sir Thomas Hardy, quoted in the next section.

We might perhaps find some excuse in the fact that although the documents with regard to which we propose to offer some suggestions are not yet Archives and therefore not our concern, many of them are in point of fact not yet in existence at all and may therefore be held to offer a free field.

All countries have, of course, considered the necessity for the destruction upon occasion of documentary accumulations and have made some provision for it. As a rule this provision has taken the form of regulations drawn up by a committee consisting of an admixture in one proportion or another of the Archivist, the Administrator, and the Historian. The Regulations[1] distinguish certain types of document which ought to be weeded (to use the English expression), generally in the office to which they belong ;[2] which the administration, or in some cases the Archivist, is accordingly empowered to 'weed'. The questions we are now obliged to ask, with all diffidence, are :

(i) Is this system effectual and, if it is, will it continue to be so ?

(ii) Does it produce Archives of the same quality as those the past has bequeathed to us ?

To the first of these questions our war experience, however abnormal that may be, in conjunction with what we have already suggested of the increasing tendency to manufacture Archives on a hopelessly gigantic scale (a tendency by no means confined to Departments of State), seems to return an emphatic negative. There is, as we have already remarked, a real danger that in the future research work upon Archives

[1] The term is perhaps a little misleading so far as concerns English Archives. In this country a schedule of documents which it is proposed to destroy has to be approved by the Public Record Office and the Master of the Rolls and to be submitted to Parliament. The practice therefore with regard to modern departmental records is to have a permissive or continuing schedule which will allow of the weeding of certain specified classes from time to time within the Office to which they belong. The Committee which authorizes this is the Record Office Destruction Committee acting in conjunction with the Office whose Records are concerned.

[2] It is perhaps worth noting in connexion with our English illustrations that Sir Thomas Hardy (to quote again his evidence in 1877) laid stress upon the propriety of weeding *before* the documents were sent to the Public Record Office.

may become a task hopelessly complicated by reason of their mere bulk.

To the second question we must devote a separate section.

§ 7. *The selection of Modern Archives*

If we look at the objections we have already raised to the possible methods of destroying portions of our older archive collections, we shall see that all are based on the difficulties that arise when the Archivist and the Historian are given what amounts to a share in the creation of those Archives which it is their true business only to keep and to use respectively, and we have given our reasons for holding those difficulties to be insuperable. We can only add here that if they were insuperable in regard to the Archives of the past, they must be equally so in regard to those of the present and future. On the other hand, we have already described certain destruction of Archives which has occurred in the past as being of a nature not open to criticism. That was the destruction carried out before our time by the original owners of the documents and based on a point of view having nothing to do with the documents' position either as Archives or as historical evidences. In fine, for the Archivist to destroy a document because he thinks it useless is to import into the collection under his charge what we have been throughout most anxious to keep out of it, an element of his personal judgement; for the Historian to destroy because he thinks a document useless may be safer at the moment (since he presumably knows more history than the Archivist), but is even more destructive of the Archives' reputation for impartiality in the future: but for an Administrative body to destroy what it no longer needs is a matter entirely within its competence and an action which future ages (even though they may find reason to deplore it) cannot possibly criticize as illegitimate or as affecting the status of the remaining archives; provided always that the Administration proceeds only upon those grounds upon which alone it is competent to make a decision—the needs of its own practical

business; provided, that is, that it can refrain from thinking of itself as a body producing historical evidences.

We have dwelt, perhaps, often enough in the present work upon this proviso: but the evidence, for example, of some of the English Departments before the late Royal Commission[1] shows that it requires much emphasizing from the point of view of archive values; and we venture, even at the risk of a repetition *ad nauseam*, upon a final illustration. If we consider the value of Pepys's *Diary*, not for individual details in the history of the seventeenth century but for the broad conclusions we are to draw as to the character of the man himself, the social world around him and the position he really held in it—in a word, as to the value of his statements upon any matters in which he might be supposed to desire in the ordinary way to create some particular impression on the minds of other people—we shall see that the first and most essential question to be settled is—did he (in spite of the cipher), or did he not, contemplate the possibility that his work would be read by other people? The position of Archives should be the position of the Diary with that question answered in the negative: that is the position we are trying to assure to the Archives of the future.

Here then, in the case of the Archives now compiling and those to be compiled in the future, we have at last a place where destruction may be possible; and in the action of the Administration, the actual body which produces the Archives, upon its own documents *before they reach the Archive stage* we may have the solution of our difficulties. It will be seen that we propose to follow to some extent what is the normal practice of the present day in relying upon the Administrator himself to deal with the growing bulk of his own collections. The difference in our point of view is that we wish to increase his

[1] *Second Report*, ii, p. 21. 'The War Office takes the view that the papers existing in . . . Commands are not Public Records but *papers likely to be of interest* are sent up to the War Office and so become Records of the Department.' The words here italicized may not refer to the interests of History, but they indicate at least the direction in which this danger may be looked for.

activities and to eliminate from them any motive based on the alleged historical requirements of the future. At the same time we wish to ensure that the future (whose exact needs we do not know) shall be provided at least with as representative a body of unimpeachable Archives as the past has left to us.

We are faced, then, with two questions only :

(i) How can we ensure that the Administrator will destroy enough ?

(ii) *Per contra*, may he not destroy too much ? If they are left long enough all documents become useless for the purposes of current business and he might therefore destroy all or nearly all : how is this to be avoided ?

§ 8. *Summarizing*

Let us summarize, to avoid confusion, the conclusions so far arrived at : we may thus get a clear idea of the object at which we are aiming.

Touching the Archives of the past we have found great objections to any destruction, except in the one case ; and there only under conditions attended by an expenditure of so much labour as seems likely to be prohibitive.

The Archives of the present we will leave aside for the time.

Touching the Archives of the future we have seen reason to think that an increase in bulk is going on which may seriously imperil archive work.

We have suggested that much might be done by what is, in effect, a reversion to old procedure ; i. e. by making the Administrator the sole agent for the selection and destruction of his own documents : only we have to make sure that he destroys enough.

Faced in fact by the prospect of impossible accumulations and realizing that the same thing will happen to the Archivist of the future which has happened to us (i. e. that once these accumulations become Archives[1] there will be insuperable

[1] Cp. our definition of the point at which documents become Archives, above, Part I, § 2 (*e*).

difficulties in the way of any system of selection and destruction which can be devised), we propose to try to *prevent the accumulations occurring at all*; to deal with the matter before documents come to the Archive state and the Archivist's custody.

On the other hand, we must see that our Administrator does not revert too completely to primitive habits and destroy unreasonably.

§ 9. *The work of the Archive Maker*

Let us begin by setting down the desired qualities for our Administrator in respect of Archive-making:

(i) The Archives of the future must have the same qualities as those of the past: therefore, any line of action we lay down for him must *not* be based on the hypothetical needs of the historian of the future;

(ii) he must leave memorial of all the proceedings of importance which occur in his office: this provided for,

(iii) he must preserve as little as possible;

(iv) he must deposit (i.e. turn his documents into Archives) as regularly as possible, and thereafter leave them undisturbed;

(v) he must arrange and classify in such a way as to help the Archivist as much as possible; we wish to imitate the good qualities, but there is no need to repeat the confusions of the past.

The last two of these may mean a number of carefully framed regulations; but the first three appear to be to some extent conflicting and they constitute the real crux of the whole matter.

§ 10. *The Golden Rule of Archive Making*

It is agreed that the accumulation of documents in an office is to be cut down as far as possible; but at the same time the basis of accumulation is to be no other than that

which it has been in the past. Concerning the particular varieties of Register, File, or Index required in different offices there will certainly be various opinions, but concerning the end which their preservation is to serve there can be only one: it is (to go back to our original investigation of the beginnings of Archive making [1]) that they may serve as 'a convenient form of artificial memory'; that the Administrator, called upon to take up any piece of business, may not be dependent on his own memory, but find a summary of all that has been done in the past on this matter in his files. Those files should therefore cover the existence and functioning of the Office as a whole and the work of all its departments, subdivisions, and members in their official capacity: neither more nor less. It follows that an ideal set of office papers of this description should furnish us with the standard we require for our Administrator's work in connexion with the making of his collection of documents.

Now it is clear that such a set of papers should supply information as to the Authority which enables either the Office as a whole or any of its responsible officials to take action; as to the action which has already been taken on various occasions in the past; and as to the business actually in hand at the present moment. But it is equally clear that, supplied with this information, any person of a suitable standard of knowledge, intelligence, and character could after due study of the Office documents proceed to carry on the Office work. It appears then that the golden rule for the Administrator, so far as concerns his papers, must be to have them always in such a state of completeness and order that, supposing himself and his staff to be by some accident obliterated, a successor totally ignorant of the work of the office would be able to take it up and carry it on with the least possible inconvenience and delay simply on the strength of a study of the Office Files.

[1] Above, Part II, § 1.

§ 11. *Conclusion*

The above preliminaries settled, it remains to offer some evidence that, while details must necessarily be left for the settlement of individual officials in individual cases, it is possible to propound certain principles of Archive-making which will maintain the Archive Quality of the past and at the same time reduce materially the bulk of our Collections in the future : and finally we must devote some consideration to the Archives now or recently accumulated.

PART IV

ARCHIVE MAKING

§ 1. *Introductory*

If our definitions and the conclusions as to Archive value upon which we have proceeded so far are correct, all we have said regarding the treatment of Archives of the past may be taken by those who will as directly introductory to the sections in which we shall now discuss the Archives of the Future. We began by investigating the evolution of Archives and the stages by which they have reached us and discovered therein the foundation of those qualities which give to Archives their distinctive character and value; and we went on to formulate the rules by which those qualities may be preserved unimpaired in the present; treating finally a matter which lies on the borderland between the old and the new, the question of selection and destruction. Since, then, our object must be to ensure that the Future shall be provided by our time with Archives at least as good in quality as those which the Past has bequeathed to us, much of what we have said concerning the Archives of the past will hold good in relation to those of the present and future: the rules as to care and custody, numeration and classification, will be the same;[1] the adventures to which Archives may be liable in the course of transmission[2] will be the same; the same lessons may be drawn from the errors and successes of the Past in Archive-keeping.[3] But there is one matter entirely new: whereas up to the present we have been concerned only with the preservation of Archive quality we have now to consider the possibility of creating it: that is to say, we have to try to balance between the desire to provide for the needs of the Future and a determination to

[1] Above, Part II, §§ 5–9.
[2] Part II, § 2.
[3] Appendix V (i).

copy the impartiality of the Past; to lay down lines for Archive-making to follow now, while excluding any possibility of what should be Archives becoming propaganda for posterity. This problem and that of bulk, which if not new is at least very much intensified in our time, will mainly occupy our attention in the next few sections.

We had better, perhaps, disclaim from the first any intention of dictating upon points of detail in Archive-making. The questions we are discussing relate to all Archives alike, public and private, in all countries. The range of subjects covered and the necessary variety of procedure are thus so enormous that to attempt anything more than the quotation of a few examples and the formulation of certain essential principles would merely be impertinent. Keeping in view, then, always our purpose, which is to equate the qualities, physical and moral, of future archives with those of the past, while reducing them at the same time to a reasonable bulk, we may begin by laying down certain *desiderata* which all compilers of archives, in the manner most suited to their individual needs, should try to secure.

§ 2. *Materials, Old and New*[1]

We may start by dealing with the initial questions of materials; for materials too (as well as the moral qualities of Archives) have been gravely compromised by modern usage: papers, in particular, have suffered from the introduction of woodpulp as a material, especially that variety of it known as mechanical woodpulp; and writing from the introduction of aniline dyes and typewriting ribbons and transfer papers of inferior quality. Our first aim must be to secure that the Archives of the present and future shall be as lasting as those of the past materially.

(*a*) *Paper.* The question of a suitable 'Record Paper' was considered in this country so long ago as 1898, when a Committee of the Society of Arts made inquiries into the

[1] I have been much indebted in this connexion to Mr. C. A. Doree of the Department of Chemistry at the Borough Polytechnic.

matter ;[1] and it has received official consideration elsewhere.[2] The troubles to be faced are those of discoloration and disintegration due to bad composition of the fibres and to the addition of foreign material together with bad handling and over rapid drying during manufacture.[3] An English authority [4] summarizes the grades of paper under four headings based on the materials used :

(i) cotton, flax, and hemp ;
(ii) chemical wood ;
(iii) esparto and straw ;
(iv) mechanical wood ;

and decides that ' for written documents of permanent value the paper should be all rag fibre, without starch and loading, tub-sized with gelatine '. In the American Report the conclusions are similar : attention is also called to the fact that all paper virtues in the highest degree cannot be combined in a single paper ; we cannot have the maximum of opaqueness, strength, and durability combined with the minimum of weight and bulk. This report specifies for the special requirements of ledgers, correspondence paper, paper for transfer copies (an important point and one generally neglected), and index cards ; and contains a useful section on paper specifications. No one, perhaps, has dwelt quite sufficiently on the requirements for repairing paper—the greatest possible toughness and a range of varying weights : at the Public Record Office in London a special handmade rag paper is used for this.

(*b*) *Inks.* Here again there is plenty of scientific literature. A standard for Record Ink originally advocated by the Prussian Government has been practically adopted in America by the State of Massachusetts and the United States Government,[5]

[1] Dawe, *Paper and its Uses* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1919), p. 63.

[2] United States Department of Agriculture, Report, No. 89 (1909) on *Durability and Economy in Papers for Permanent Records* ; note also the Prussian Official Tests at Charlottenburg, which are widely quoted.

[3] See on this point Cross and Bevan, *Cellulose* (London, 1918), p. 306, and the United States Pamphlet, p. 9.

[4] Dawe, op. cit., p. 64.

[5] United States Department of Agriculture : Bureau of Chemistry, Bulletin,

whose pamphlet on the subject provides again a useful series of notes on criteria and standards for inks. There has been no official publication on the subject in England but the same view is held generally, that ink for record purposes must be a gallate and gallotannate of iron ink.[1] It is noteworthy, however, that a recent authority advanced the view that no ink can be considered absolutely secure from fading except some form of carbon ink.[2]

(*c*) *Stamps and Stamping Inks.* In any case there is no doubt that inks founded on aniline dyes are unsafe. It follows that rubber stamps with the inks normally supplied for them are not trustworthy. Investigation in the United States into a suitable ink for cancelling purposes at the Post Office makes it clear that ink with an oil basis, used with a metal stamp, is the only reliable one.[3]

(*d*) *Transfer Papers and Ribbons for Typewriters.* It follows from what we have said that these should be used in black only, the carbon which is used in their preparation being alone reliable from the point of view of colour. The question of the medium on which it is based is a more difficult matter and probably documents made by these means will always need to be protected from rubbing.

(*e*) *Other Materials.* With one such, Leather, which to some extent concerns the Archivist, we have already dealt.[4] It is possible that many others may come into the province of the Archivist in time. So long ago as 1910 the municipality of Brussels [5] was considering the question of the preservation of cinematograph films, and although these are hardly documents

No. 109 (revised) on *Some Technical Methods of Testing Miscellaneous Supplies* (Washington, 1910); cp. Allen, *Commercial Organic Analysis* (London, 1911), vol. v, pp. 673 *et seqq.*; see also Mitchell and Hepworth, *Inks* (London, 1916).

[1] Allen, op. cit., p. 673; cp. U.S.A. pamphlet, p. 41. A late medieval recipe, preserved at the Public Record Office, specifies galls, copperas, or vitriol, gum, and water as ingredients.

[2] D. B. Dott in the *Journal* of the Society of Chemical Industry, May 1916, p. 493.

[3] U.S.A. Pamphlet and Allen, op. cit., p. 679; cp. Seymour, *Modern Printing Inks* (London, 1910), pp. 24, 78, and 80.

[4] Part II, § 5 (*j*).

[5] *L'organisation des Archives de la ville de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1910).

in the sense of our definition of that word,[1] they come sufficiently near to it to raise the question in our minds. For the present we can only suggest that on all such points, as they arise, the Archivist should have prompt recourse to the practical chemist.

§ 3. *New Methods of doing Business; and their Appearance in Archives*

Having to some extent equated the materials of our new Archives with those of the old, we are still left with the task of doing the same for new business methods. Such a method is the *personal interview*, the possibilities of which have been enormously increased by new facilities for travel and by the telephone, and which, by the addition of new mechanical facilities, may have further extension yet before it: further, there is the *personal letter*, multiplied by the modern extension of postal facilities: there is the *telegram*, which brings us a new problem in the shape of the addition of a third party to the two primarily concerned in any piece of business: and there is the *letter typed from dictation* which brings in the same complexity in a modified form.

Now it is to be remembered that, however different our modern methods of conducting business may be, their results, if they are to be preserved in the form of Archives, can still be of only those three kinds to which we have already referred several times—documents received, documents dispatched, and memoranda, &c., circulated in the Office. Our first task, therefore, is to secure that written memorials of business done after the new fashions shall be made in forms which can be assimilated to the old classes. Every office should be concerned with the framing of rules to this end.

(*a*) *Conversations and Telephone Messages.* Here the danger is more generally that of under- than of over-production of Archives; or, alternatively, a danger that Archives may be made and preserved in the wrong way. It is not, as we have already indicated,[2] the most usual problem offered by modern

[1] This decision may well be reversed in the case of war Archives.

[2] Above, Part III, § 1.

methods, but it is none the less a danger to be guarded against: a good example, though perhaps an extreme one, is offered by the case of a temporary local Administration which was doing excellent work during the War and which was asked by the controlling Public Department in London to forward its Minute Books periodically for inspection: it replied to the effect that it had none and would not know how to enter them up if it had; its whole working day being, so to speak, one long Board Meeting: all its internal business, in fact, was being conducted by a series of private conversations between those responsible for the transaction of its business. It is possible, of course, that the work here done was of such a nature as to be adequately recorded in the correspondence which passed; but it is quite certain that in some cases the two modern methods of doing business to which we have referred result in less than the desirable amount of record being kept, and we may therefore call attention to the principles which must govern any rules made to meet this danger. It will be the business of any person or office laying down such rules to ensure that *automatically* and *invariably* private conversations and telephone messages, *where they have any result* upon the business transacted by the Office or Administration, shall be reduced to writing *in a form which may be readily assimilated* to the ordinary Letters or Memoranda of the office; and that this shall be *done by the person or persons responsible* in each case.

(*b*) *Copies of dictated letters and telegrams.* We have already dealt with the matter of paper to be employed for documents which it is intended to preserve as Archives, but may be allowed to emphasize it here because the paper on which telegrams are officially communicated, and the thin 'flimsies' used for taking copies of letters typed, are so definitely not of the desired standards as a general rule. Apart from this it is to be noted that here, since both these forms of communication imply the entry into the business of an extra personality, it is particularly necessary that whatever system is employed shall secure *authentication* of the copy or original preserved *by the responsible*

official who sends or receives it—not by a typist or messenger of any grade. Thus authenticated these documents take the ordinary position of Letters In or Out under the older Archive systems.

(*c*) *Personal Letters.* The use of personal letters in business, whether private or public, is a practice generally and rightly condemned. We may safely say so because we have here the advantage of numerous examples drawn from the past—indeed from all periods. The vast private collections in England, to some of which we have already referred [1] and to which the *Reports* of the Historical MSS. Commission furnish an Introduction, contain in many cases enormous quantities of what are really State Papers ; and the existence of these in their present position, if it is not directly due to the fact that they were addressed personally, at least reflects the point of view with regard to custody which goes naturally with such carelessness of form. Even at the present day the frequent appearance of volumes of the ' private ' correspondence of prominent statesmen, which are eagerly read because they supply information upon public events which cannot be obtained from the Archives in which it should be preserved, is an eloquent testimony to the dangers accompanying this practice of personal direction and to its commonness. The rule which was insisted on, often *ad nauseam*, in the British Army, and doubtless elsewhere, during the war—that communications on official matters must be addressed to the Office concerned and not to a person in it—was approved then because matters were commonly dealt with in which the difference between correct and incorrect procedure might be that between life and death in the event ; but it is equally true in the affairs of civil life and in private business. When, in spite of all precautions, private correspondence does obtain a place in official or public business the obvious rule should be that *official or business action taken upon a private or personal letter automatically makes that letter an official or*

[1] See above, Part II, § 2 (*e*) ; where among others the very obvious case of the Cecil MSS. is quoted. We deal with this subject at more length below under the heading of *Confidential Documents* (Part IV, § 11 (*c*)).

business document, to be treated as such: that is to say, it ceases then and there to be the property of the person to whom it was addressed and his office should see to it that official ownership is invariably asserted.

(*d*) *General Results of the New Methods.* One result of the new methods of doing business common in our time is clearly to make official action in any large office much more personal, to cause a general decentralization within the Office; and we may remark that it seems unlikely, considering the complication of modern affairs and methods, that we shall ever revert altogether to the simple system under which one section or one clerk could control, for example, all the copying of outgoing letters with a single register. Excepting always the archives of Accounting Branches and the Minutes of Meetings of Councils or Committees,[1] the system of mixed records (the file system to which we have alluded above, or something like it) has returned to us in all large businesses or offices and seems likely to stay, because it is the natural pendant to the devolution of business within the Office.[2]

§ 4. *Indexes*

We have already said that there is a close connexion between the modern use of rather loose and primitive methods of Archive-keeping and the modern system of indexing. This modern indexing is of course only a recognition of the old truth that in the first stage of making an index every single fact must have a single slip: all that our times have done is to perfect certain mechanical means by which the slips themselves (instead of the later stage, the paged list) become useable for general and rapid reference. The convenience of course is

[1] It is noteworthy that these two, the only types of formal Archive-making which are really common at the present day, begin first to appear with frequency just at the time (roughly the Renaissance) when other archives were beginning to be emancipated from the bondage of Form. Thus in England their rise corresponds in date with the decline of the old formal documents in other classes and the spread of the use of the informal letter—such as the State Paper—for all business purposes.

[2] The file system, which is the same as the loose-leaf system, is also the one most in harmony with modern methods of mechanical writing, reproduction, and indexing.

that the Index is never finished and yet always available. The reason why we mention it here is because the new system has removed one of the safeguards of orderly and careful archive-making by rendering carelessly made and badly arranged documents useable for the purposes of current reference. It is also worthy of note that there is a natural tendency to multiply unnecessary Indexes; and there may be a tendency to keep them.

§ 5. *Over-production of Documents*

Although some of the difficulties we have noted above do not lead to over-production this is, as we have said, the general tendency in modern Archive-making, which we are to avoid if possible. Now, there are two possibilities. In the first place there is the case of those documents which must be made but which we desire, if possible, to arrange not to keep: i.e. the documents which for business and office reasons have to be made and have to be kept for a while but might conceivably be destroyed as no longer useful later. This is the most difficult part of the matter because we seem likely at this point to come back to what we most wished to avoid, the intrusion of the Historian and the historic interest into Archive-making.

The second matter we have to consider is the more straightforward case of those documents which are made at present but which are unnecessary—the copies (to take an obvious example) of letters which do no more than to fix an appointment or acknowledge receipt or the like.

§ 6. *A Remedy: Re-introduction of Control*

All the troubles we have seen attending modern Archive-making come back to a single thing, absence of control: there is no longer the control caused by comparative shortage of materials or labour; the freedom from fixed forms is again a freedom from control; the system, under which every Department of an Office not only drafts and prepares Letters

out but at the same time produces copies of them to be preserved, is an uncontrolled system. With the lack of control incidental to a state of decentralization goes also a lack of co-ordination. What is the remedy for all this? Clearly the introduction, or re-introduction, of some form of control; we have already a centre to govern policy, we require one to govern procedure in every office; a development of the already widely adopted idea of a Central Registry. We have said 'in every office' because, even if the office is too small to have an independent Registry, yet its Archives are, it is probable, relatively as big as the larger ones and therefore present the same problems. If, then, it desires that those Archives should maintain their quality it will have to arrange for the work which we have assigned to the Registry, even though it may not keep a separate staff to do it.[1]

§ 7. *New Functions of the Registry*

The duties, then, of the Central Registry will be something much more than its present ones of registering and distributing the incoming letters and dispatching the outgoing. It must control, and control absolutely, in the light of the observations we have already made, all matters affecting the accumulation of Office papers. Obviously there must be a rule knowing no exceptions that Registry controls every stage of the distribution and transit of every official document. But there will be others.

(*a*) *Materials.* The control of Registry over this question (the main details of which we have already[2] discussed) is closely dependent on another point, dealt with below—the decision as to documents which are to be kept permanently. Because an economical office will use low-grade papers and inks for fugitive pieces and first-class ones only for documents likely to be preserved. The formulation of rules on this subject will be part of the duties of Registry. In this connexion we may emphasize the extreme desirability of a generally recognized standard in these matters: it is obviously most important

[1] On this subject see again below, § 12.

[2] See above, § 2.

that all offices should do as they would be done by, sending out letters which the recipient is likely to wish to preserve written on a suitable paper with suitable ink or carbons.

(*b*) *Methods employed.* Registry again will be responsible for the standing rules of the office regarding the method of making every variety of copy, memorandum, note of conversation and so forth; i.e. it will choose the form all office documents are to take with a view to reducing them to the simplicity of the old Archive forms, assimilating them, as we said above, to those already in existence. It will also lay down rules as to dating and authentication.[1]

(*c*) *Preservation and destruction.* The most difficult work of Registry will be the assumption of all responsibility of decision as to whether a document (original or copy) is to be preserved at all, and whether it is to be preserved for good or for a time only, or preserved for reconsideration later. Registry cannot, of course, control the work of the Executive side of the office, which must naturally decide itself whether it wishes to send a letter or address a memorandum to another Department; but the sending and addressing will be done through Registry, and the latter will decide if a document itself, or a copy of it, is to be kept. In doing this last Registry will naturally invoke the aid of the Executive side when it is in any doubt; but it is absolutely necessary that it should take the responsibility itself. On the other hand, the Executive may in some cases wish to preserve in a different order or form to that chosen by Registry, to preserve extra copies, or even to preserve temporarily where Registry would not propose to preserve at all. Individual cases of this kind, where the convenience or particular wishes of perhaps a single member of the Executive had to be met, might well be covered [2] by the making of extra copies and extra files *ad hoc*; which would in no sense form a part of the documents officially preserved by Registry nor figure in its Registers.

[1] Above, § 3.

[2] See again below, § 10 (*a*), note, and (*c*) on this point.

§ 8. *The Records of the Registry itself*

We have spoken of Registers, the record of the *proceedings* of Registry itself; and in a previous section we pointed out that it was the function of this department to re-introduce that central control of official documents which earlier administrations obtained by a differentiation of their archives upon highly formal lines and which those of our own time have lost precisely because modern tendencies are all towards devolution of duties within administrative offices and (consequently) towards the most primitive, personal, informal, and uncontrolled methods of Archive-making.[1] Under these circumstances our ideal Register will assume ultimately something like the position of the 'Main Record', the *ligne capitale*, which we discussed in an earlier section. It is important, therefore, to see what form it will take, or rather (since the form will probably vary infinitely with circumstances) upon what principles it will be constructed. So far as form is concerned we may visualize it, purely for our immediate convenience, as a single book, ruled in many columns, and proceed to see what these columns will contain.

(*a*) *Accession of Documents.* Starting with the primary duties of Registry, we see that the record of its doings will contain, first, a column giving the date and, next, one giving the accession number of every official document which is made in or comes into the office; i.e. of every official act, without exception, which takes the form of writing, provided that it duly passes through Registry. For safety we will add a third column, to contain the date of the document itself, which in the case of a letter received may be different from the register date.

(*b*) *Placing documents and connecting them with others.* The next proceeding of Registry will be to assign the document, or a copy of it in the case of a letter which is to be dispatched, to a place—a file or jacket if the file system is in use—and to

[1] See above, Part II, § 6 (*r*) and (*s*); Part III, § 1; and in the present part (IV), §§ 3 (*a*) and 6.

enter it on the cover or other place reserved for indexing the contents of that receptacle. This proceeding will furnish the entry for a fourth column in the Register; which will take the form of the reference number of the File, &c. Details as to preceding documents in the same case will be furnished, as has been seen, by the File itself and possibly by a Catalogue of Files, but some recognized marking of the entry in the Register may be used to indicate when fresh business has caused the starting of a fresh file. A further establishment of the relation of the document in question to those which have gone before will be discussed when we come to our next column.

(*c*) *Description of Documents: Subject.* The action by Registry which we have just described implies an examination into the subject of the document (which may or may not be facilitated by the writer having given a reference to some previous paper). The result of this examination will give us an entry (the subject in words) for our fifth column. To this may well be added the Register number of the last preceding document in the case (*not* its number on the File): this addition need give no trouble if a rule is made that this Register number is put upon every document at the time it is first received and filed by Registry; and it will mean that at any time it will be possible through the Register alone to trace back every step in a series of official actions. To suggest that on each occasion the Register keeper should turn back and post old entries forward to the new ones is perhaps to ask too much, though there is no doubt of the convenience of the practice if time and available staff permit.

(*d*) *Description of Documents: Nature.* The Registration of our document is still incomplete, for we are not yet informed by the entries who is taking action in the case; whether some one outside is applying to the Office, or the Office is dealing with some one outside; or whether the process is internal, different divisions or departments consulting one another.[1] This requirement will be met by columns 6, 7, and 8, in which it will be

[1] The case of other Office Memoranda of the nature of Accounts or Minutes is dealt with below.

stated (column 6) that the document is received *from such a person*, or (column 7) that it is dispatched *to such a person*, or (column 8) that it is circulated *between such and such divisions of the office*. Needless to say, these entries will all be as brief as possible: column 8, for example, will probably take some such code form as 'A to G 2'; this indicating that Division A has dispatched a minute to another department code named G 2, on the subject given in column 5 (and perhaps in connexion with a previous document noted there); that the minute in question is in such a file, with or without previous documents bearing on the case (column 4); and that the dates of writing and dispatch were as given in columns 3 and 1. The use of a code letter, different coloured inks, underlining, or some such mechanical distinction will make it possible also for these columns to show, if that is thought necessary, whether the document took the form of a letter, telegram or note of telephone message or other conversation.

(*e*) *Distribution of Documents in the Office.* The preliminaries necessary to action on the part of the Registry have thus been gone through and recorded—the operation will not take so long to perform as it has taken to describe—and it has now only to dispatch the document of which it has already filed a copy (Out-letter: column 7), to send the file to another department (Memorandum: column 8), or to put it on the table of that member of the staff whose business it is to deal with the matter involved (In-letter: column 6). This last proceeding may raise a question. In the case of the Memorandum the Register furnishes information as to the particular section of the office involved: is this not necessary also in the case of the correspondence (columns 6 and 7)? To this the answer is that in these cases the whole office is acting through the person of one of its members, whereas in that of the Memorandum one section of the office is giving information to, or asking it of, another. In the first case the personalities involved are not material to the action, in the second they are an essential part of it. Of course for temporary purposes the distribution of the Office Files must be readily ascertainable, and a separate Transit

Register [1] will be required for this purpose which will incidentally show to whom or from whom each document came or went. But the question what particular member of the staff took action with regard to some person or body outside the office is not of permanent importance, because he is presumed not to do so without authority; he is in respect of that action not himself but the Office.

(*f*) *The Resulting Register; and Subsidiary Documents.* We have now covered all the ordinary happenings with regard to any document which may pass through Registry, but for safety we may add a ninth column for *Remarks* to our Register: this will cover correction of errors, cross reference in special cases, and the like. It is not, of course, pretended for a moment that the imaginary system here sketched is an ideal one. Supposing that it were adopted many additions or modifications might doubtless be found to render it more efficient, and there are many obvious adjuncts to it for which we have not attempted to formulate rules. Some (such as the Transit Register) have been mentioned in passing, and others will readily suggest themselves; for example, a Register of typing put out and brought in may be needed; strict rules are necessary to secure a smooth system by which fresh minutes added to a file are notified by the Executive branch to Registry; an arrangement for temporary files, and for the enclosing of these in others when requisite, will have to be worked out; the duties of distribution, of entering up the Register or Registers, of keeping Indexes and so forth in the Registry itself, all require careful forethought; in fine, we have not attempted to formulate Rules,[2] merely to lay down a principle in the guise of an

[1] Such a Register will, of course, include many cases where no action is taken, the File being required for consultation only, so that there is nothing to enter in the Main Register.

[2] Without any intention of going into the details of Office Management we may perhaps take this opportunity of remarking that the possibilities of mechanical devices for saving labour in office work are still not always appreciated. In the present case, for example, it would suffice to supply every member of the Executive with coloured wafers, one of which he would stick on the outside of a file he was returning to Registry as an indication that he had added to its contents. Similarly if a rule were made that members of the staff when they required Files must apply

imaginary set of proceedings. There is little doubt that we might even devise totally different registering machinery, whereby (for example) under an office rule that all jackets or covers of files, with indexes attached, should be invariably preserved, and that these indexes should be entered up by Registry, and Registry only, the Register itself which we have been discussing might be reduced to little more than an index, with dates, accession numbers and subjects given, referring into these jackets.

The fact remains, however, that we have sketched a method of obtaining *automatically*, *regularly*, and, from a point of view of space, *economically* a summary of every action in the Office which has taken the form of writing, provided these writings pass through Registry ; a summary which gives, with reference to the original documents in case details are required, the information that on such a date such a matter was raised in the form of such and such letters or messages received or dispatched or Memoranda circulated in the Office. It is worth noting in passing that in most offices nearly, if not quite, as much work as this is already done, though not in the same form or with the same object, at any rate upon the Office correspondence. There are, however, certain actions or rather proceedings of an office which are committed to paper, but which cannot be said to pass through Registry, because they are not normally transmitted at all. We may turn aside for a moment to consider these in a separate section.

§ 9. *Minutes and Accounts*

All correspondence may be said, in a sense, to be a matter of question and answer : even a direct order implies an answering consent, whether expressed in the form of an acknowledgement or understood. The Memoranda also, of which we have been speaking, passed as they are from one department to another, partake of the same character. And the bulk of the Lists,

for them on a special card, these cards, placed in an index tray, would form at once, with practically no extra labour, the Transit Register referred to in (*e*) above: We have already alluded to the possibilities of code in many columns of our Register.

Descriptions, Reports, Plans, and the like which may be expected to figure in the documentary collections of any large business will be, from the point of view of Archives, annexed [1] to either the Letters or the Memoranda. There are, however, certain varieties of business and corresponding varieties of documents in the *Memoranda* class which are not of this kind. These are notes of any kind of proceedings : the Register, for example, which we have been discussing, though it acts as a summary of and to some extent an index to the correspondence and the circulated Memoranda, is in its own capacity of archive a series of Notes of the proceedings of Registry. More obvious examples are the Minutes of Committees and the like and those other Memoranda which consist of Accounts. We have, in fact, to distinguish between two uses of the same word *Memoranda*, and the same may be said for the word *Minutes* ; each is used in two incompatible senses, the one, as it were, active, the other passive : on the one hand we have Minutes or Memoranda in the sense we have already seen, meaning communications addressed by one part of an administration to another, and on the other the same words meaning a description, written at the time, of deliberations or other proceedings. The second class, including, as we have seen, two of the few remaining formal types of Records, is not one which can properly be accommodated to the routine of the Registry, whose business is essentially that of the movement of documents. As a consequence, apart from controlling them like other documents in the matter of method and material, Registry will not normally deal with these, and they will not figure in the Register. We shall return to the subject of these classes later.

§ 10. *The Use of the Register*

Reverting now to the more ordinary classes of documents and going back to the golden rule for Archive-making, which we propounded in an earlier section, we may claim for our Register that, with appropriate indexes, it would enable any

[1] Cp. above the definition of documents (Part I, § 2 (*c*)).

one to identify readily all the documents which would be necessary to put him *au courant* with any business in process in the office. But would it not do more? Would reference have to be made in all cases to the original documents which are summarized in the Register? Would not this summary itself give all the necessary information?

(*a*) *Documents which may be destroyed immediately.* We have pointed out above that all correspondence and a large section of Office Memoranda consist in effect of question and answer. Now if the answer is *No* this fact would emerge from the entry in the Register of the letter, &c., which gave it; at any rate a very simple regulation as to the making of these entries would secure that it did so. A moment's reflection will show that in any collection there are enormous numbers of letters which either directly or indirectly communicate a negative to some proposition previously made or implied. In all these cases our Register would supply all the information required for office reference; which, it will be remembered, is the basis on which we are proposing to build up our collection: reference to the originals in these cases being quite unnecessary, it would seem that all of these documents might without loss to the Office be at once destroyed; always provided that the Register is so organized that it can be absolutely relied upon.

Nor is this all. In a large proportion of such cases the previous letter in which the proposition had been made is also sufficiently represented by the Register entry; which adds a further large number to our list of destructibles. Moreover, it is not only the *Noes* which can go on to this list. Let us suppose for example that No. 4/2/107 (we will give it a complicated numeration) in our Register is described in Column 7 as being a letter addressed *to* such a person and in Column 5 as 'asking to arrange meeting': let us suppose further that a later document, a reply (No. 10/2/391) is described in Column 6 as *from* this same person, and in Column 5 bears a reference to No. 4/2/107 and the remark 'appointment 1 July'. Clearly both these letters may join the ranks of those

which, thanks to the Register, need not be consulted nor, consequently, preserved, at any rate officially.[1]

(*b*) *Cases reserved.* There might of course be certain objections to destroying all these documents immediately. The proposition, for example, which was originally refused might subsequently be brought up again and obtain a more favourable answer. Again, though the substance of a letter, the plain 'Yes' or 'No', raises no question, there might for a limited time be some point in the manner of its conveyance. And once more there is a large number of letters and messages of a formal character (receipts and acknowledgements, to take the most obvious example) preservation of which over a stated time is a matter of the provisions of the law. There is a residuum of cases (where, for example, a printed *pro forma* has been sent out) where certainly no record of dispatch other than that of the Register is necessary.

(*c*) *The Routine of Destruction.* We have thus got already four classes :

(i) Where no copy need be made nor original kept;
(ii) Where record of this kind must be preserved for a short time;
(iii) Where a rather long time of probation is required;
(iv) Where there is a long, but legally fixed, time of preservation.

Obviously these have to be indicated in a further column in our Register (Column 10). Clearly also this entry may take the form of (i) a code mark indicating that no copy or original is kept, or (ii), (iii), and (iv) a code number (we suggest) indicating the respective periods after which (ii) and (iv) are to be destroyed, and (iii) to be destroyed if it has not in the interval been reconsidered. It will be both convenient and easy to have an Office Rule fixing the times for (ii) and (iii); that of (iv) is fixed by law.

[1] A member of the Executive staff may, of course, for his convenience, preserve special copies and notes which may or may not reappear in the Official Files preserved by Registry: files of such documents, however, will be his personal affair and will in no case form part of the Office Archives.

Let us see how this will work. Documents in class (i) will be destroyed or in the case of Out-Letters provision may be made at the time their dispatch is being arranged for that no copies shall be filed; only an entry made in the Register and in the File Index. For the rest, if summary Destruction Books are kept in the form of a Diary and are entered up daily under the days (a month, or six months, or six years ahead) when, according to the Rules, destruction of the document entered may take place, it will become a matter of routine to examine these books every day, see what papers are down for destruction, and duly draw and destroy them. Let us suppose, for example, that the document instanced above (No. 4/2/107) is registered on March 1st and has against it, in Column 10, (say) the figure 3, meaning that it is to be preserved for three months: the Diary for Destructions will show under date June 1st the entry '4/2/107', and on that day the Destructions Clerk, turning up the Diary, will duly extract this document from its file, make some arranged mark signifying deletion in the File Index and proceed at once to destroy it in whatever may be the prescribed way. We have already dealt with the actual process of destruction, but may take this opportunity to repeat the caution that documents having no official value may on occasion have one as curiosities, and that every care therefore must be taken, if destruction does not take place in the Office, to see that they are made valueless for any other purpose.

We may add one further note at this point. It might be found useful to take the last precaution of passing documents drawn for destruction to that branch of the Executive which had originally handled them. The decision to destroy would not, except in very special cases, be reconsidered; but the Executive would have the opportunity, if it wished, of preserving them for a further period. The procedure for this could be made very simple—a matter of initials. See also the previous footnote.

So much for the documents concerning which it can be said at the time that they are made or received that they are unnecessary. It will be noticed that we have made no

attempt to prescribe the periods for which these three classes are to be kept. This is a matter for Office Rules, and it is even conceivable that an Office might work out for itself a system of graded periods of preservation applying to specified classes of documents; though it would be unwise (because confusing) to have the number of these too large. We may remark, however, that arrangements must be made by which, when it does happen that during the period of preservation the decision for destruction is for any reason reversed, the document in question has its entry in Column 10 of the Register corrected and is struck out of the Destructions Book; otherwise, of course, it will be automatically destroyed.

(*d*) *Cases for further consideration.* We may now go on to deal with the remainder of the documents in our Register. These will fall into two classes (to be distinguished by appropriate marks in Column 10): those which it is decided from the first to preserve; and those (the majority) concerning which decision is postponed. This second class will necessitate another book in the same form as the Destructions Diary, but appointing dates not necessarily for destruction but for reconsideration, which will take place in the same regular manner. The criterion for this reconsideration, in view of the rules for preservation we have laid down earlier, can only be a consideration whether the document does or does not mark a stage in advance in the line of action with which it is connected. We must not be understood as meaning that all negatives or failures or blind-alleys are to be ruled out in this way, because frequently the discovery that nothing can be done in a particular direction marks what is in effect a stage towards finding out what can be done. This process of consideration is, in fact, (unlike the routine work of destruction described above), one calling for great skill and knowledge; a matter to which we shall return again below. We must once again leave the fixing of this time to office ruling but may remark that a second or third period of preservation for reconsideration may on occasion be necessary, with corresponding annotations to Column 10 in the Register.

(*e*) *Final disposal.* However many these reconsiderations may be the time will come ultimately when a final decision is reached: when, as in the case of the documents which were more summarily dealt with (whether for destruction or preservation), Registry performs its last act in connexion with them. This last act means a final column[1] to add to our Register. In the case of the documents which were definitely put aside for preservation (and marked accordingly in Column 10) there is little to enter in this fresh column except perhaps a tick to indicate that they have been duly put aside: in the case of those which have come up for destruction and been destroyed another mark is added to show when that operation has been performed. Those which came up for reconsideration receive a mark signifying preservation or destruction when that stage is at last reached. A question which remains to be answered is—how long may documents go on being reconsidered; what is the limit?

(*f*) *The limit of current use and the passing of Documents into Archives.* In a previous section we pointed out the necessity of ensuring that enough documents should be destroyed. It is, of course, with a view to securing this that we have been careful to make so much destruction a matter simply of Office Routine. Experience has shown that no other method will produce the desired result: it is so easy to let papers accumulate, and so difficult to dispose of them afterwards. On the other hand, we suggested that there might be a danger of keeping documents so long in suspense that eventually all, or nearly all, might come to be regarded as unimportant and be destroyed. Under the system we have outlined, this should not occur: for we have provided that documents not originally condemned should be either summarily marked for preservation or reconsidered at regular intervals, with a view to ascertaining whether they did or did not advance the business of the Office at all; and as soon as this is decided in the affirmative they would

[1] This column will form a convenient means of checking if and when a block of documents is handed over to a separate Archive Authority. The corresponding Registers should of course be handed over at the same time.

automatically be marked for preservation. However, it would certainly be well to fix, if we can, some limit to the time during which they may be kept on probation. Unfortunately we here come up against the question how long documents can be said to remain in current use, and that is one which none but the office concerned can settle. Perhaps, therefore, it would be best to rule that after a certain number of reconsiderations all documents should go into a class of what we may call Probationary Archives. At any time while they were in this state reconsideration might take place if desired; and in this state they would continue until the time fixed by the Office at which their character of currency expired. They would then automatically pass, after, perhaps, a final scrutiny, to the status of Archives. Whether these were still preserved in the Office or relegated to a special Repository, they would now be regarded as having reached a stage when destruction was no longer possible under any circumstances: this stage being reached, it will be noticed, at the point at which the knowledge necessary for condemning them might be reasonably assumed to have lapsed. The last remark may lead us to suggest that the final scrutiny before they pass into Archives is the only point at which the consideration of historic interest might possibly intrude, and for this reason is to be employed only with due precaution: in most cases it would probably be best to omit it.

§ 11. *Classes of Documents Not Registered; and Some Other Considerations*

We have now conducted the bulk of our documents through the various stages of their official existence up to either destruction or the status of Archives. A number of points, however, remain to be discussed.

(*a*) *Minutes, Proceedings, and Accounts.* In the first place we must bring up again the question of classes of documents which owing to their nature do not pass through Registry. There is much to be said for treating these invariably as

Documents necessary to be preserved; merely making the suggestion that Registry, in dictating their forms, must pay more attention than has been done in the past to confining them within the smallest reasonable limits. Alternatively it might be arranged for them to take their place in the processes of reconsideration along with the registered documents. What is quite clear is that here, as in the case of the documents we have already dealt with, if any destruction is to take place it must be before the memory of their administrative significance has had time to fade and, of course, before they are removed to the status of Archives.

(*b*) *Separate Treatment of 'Annexed' Documents.* It will no doubt be advisable in some cases, where very bulky documents are annexed to a single one of the documents which figure in the Register or perhaps to a series of those we have just been considering, to treat these for the purposes of destruction or consideration for destruction as separate entities, though of course without losing sight of their connexion. In the case of those which are registered, any difficulty might be overcome by a rule that such annexures are habitually to be given a separate registration number, with, of course, a note in the Remarks Column showing their connexion with the covering document; they would then automatically be considered for destruction or preservation on their own merits, though with due regard to the requirements of the document to which they belonged. This would cover, for example, the case where several documents, all of which it might be desirable to preserve, had annexed to them copies of the same bulky document—say a printed catalogue—when cross reference to the place where a single copy was preserved might well meet all requirements.

(*c*) *Confidential Documents.* Probably the greatest difficulty some Registries will have to contend with will be in connexion with Private or Confidential Correspondence and Memoranda. To a certain extent treatment of these must be a matter dictated by circumstances, but we may recall our previous remark that Registry must have control over these as over everything else

in the way of official documents. If such a case, for example, should occur as the retaining of certain matters entirely in his own hands by the Head of an Office, it should still be possible for the documents involved to be registered under a code name with no specification of subject and with a reference to the special confidential safe or strong box; if he is unwilling to consign to the Office Archives letters largely personal he may still deposit there a memorandum of the relevant portion of them.

It may be worth while to point out here that danger[1] from abuse of the habit of treating in a special way documents of a 'confidential' character is probably more than ever to be feared in modern Public Offices where there is a permanent staff presided over by a non-permanent Head. The latter (with perhaps the help of equally unpermanent private secretaries) tends naturally to pursue a policy, so far as concerns Archives, different from that of his Office; for one thing, because he is more influenced under modern conditions by political considerations and by fear of the political capital which may be made out of the Office Archives by a successor who may possibly be his own political opponent. Such a Head is particularly inclined to take certain documents which are part of the Office Archives under his personal control, he might conceivably go so far as to suppress or garble, he is almost certain to regard not merely as confidential but as private letters and memoranda which were addressed to him personally or to which he personally attended. How far purely personal

[1] Recently noted additions to the long list of 'strays' from official custody in this country are the British Museum *Additional Manuscripts*, Nos. 37291, f. 208, and 37292, ff. 49 and 121 to 130 (Wellesley Papers of the year 1810), which actually bear Foreign Office registration numbers. An interesting comment on the attitude of earlier Ministers to documents belonging to their Offices is furnished by an account of the Dunkirk Debate (1730) in Viscount Perceval's Diary in the Egmont MSS. (vol. i, p. 54: Hist. MSS. Comm., 1920), where we find Walpole saying that Secretaries of State 'at their pleasure when they left the office took away what they thought fit'; and Bromley taking credit because he did not 'stand upon' this 'but surrendered them all'. That England is not peculiar in this matter may be judged from the Archduke Rainer's Memorandum on the Organization of the Staatsrath (1808) in *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, vol. lxxviii, p. 331: cp. also *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond* (Camden Society, Third Series, No. 28), p. 16. I am indebted for these examples to my colleague, Mr. C. S. B. Buckland.

control of the highest executive acts is inevitable, how far it is conducive to public utility, it is not for us to decide: but nothing is potentially more destructive of Archive quality; and as Archivists we are bound to point out what measures are necessary if this danger is to be avoided or limited.

(*d*) *Indexes and subsidiary Documents of Registry.* We have made no attempt to lay down what varieties of Index a Registry may find it convenient to employ: they will vary with circumstances. But it should be borne in mind that a distinction has to be made between those which are merely temporary conveniences (for the destruction of which, as a matter of routine, provision should be made as it was made above in the case of correspondence) and those which are in reality an actual part of the Register itself, merely separated off for convenience in handling. In this connexion it must be remembered that the Register is an independent document, although it happens to act as an Index to original papers—it happens very often to summarize a letter, but its real object is to record the fact of receipt or dispatch; and it is preserved as a Minute Book of the proceedings in that connexion.

§ 12. *The Staffing and Organization of Registry*

We have now given our reasons for believing that in any large Office or Department the Establishment of Registry in the position of a central authority controlling documentary procedure is an essential thing for the future of Archives. But we are bound to recognize that its organization on a proper basis is not too simple an affair. We may start by pointing out that any branch which is independent or virtually independent administratively must, as a natural consequence, have an independent Registry and Register. This will have, incidentally, the effect of putting the Register on the same footing as that we have assigned to the *Fonds* or *Archive Group*.[1] Its duties may be divided into two classes, one of routine and almost mechanical work which can be done by any reasonably

[1] See above, Part II, § 6 (*p*).

intelligent clerk, the other one which demands for its execution qualities of high intelligence, responsibility, and experience.

With regard to the first of these, difficulty in organizing is mainly a matter of technique. We have not even added much, in the way of Register entries, which is not normally done already in the normal office: the trouble lies in fitting in the various duties of the indexing and registering staff so that they may retain that punctual and routine character which the preservation of the Register's position as a contemporary record of proceedings (not a posthumous index) necessarily demands, without interfering with the transaction of business by the Executive side. This, however, should not present insuperable difficulties. It is a matter of Office organization, of the adjustment of the form of the Register, and of the timing of the clerk's duties so that they do not clash with each other or those of the Executive.

Difficulties in connexion with the second class of Registry's duties are another matter. There is no doubt that for the tasks of entering up certain columns in the Register an official is needed equally responsible and equally experienced with those engaged on the Executive side. If this is not recognized the whole of our scheme for utilizing the Register in connexion with the task of preservation and destruction falls to the ground. It is necessary to emphasize this because the duties of Registry are generally assumed to be merely those of indexing; and indexing is still too often regarded as a mechanical task requiring neither training nor intelligence. In point of fact the Register as we have sketched it is definitely not an Index, though it is capable of being used as one: it is an Archive, a Record of the Proceedings of a department of the Office to which it belongs, and therein lies its power to act as a substitute for those other Office documents which we propose to destroy.

The officials of the Registry occupy, then, a position midway between the Executive and the Archivist: they are set up to secure much the same objects as those followed by the Archivist but by methods which depend entirely upon the point of view and requirements of the Executive; and they

must have a considerable portion of the qualities of both, with some (in the way of Business Method) of their own. It is here that the question which has frequently suggested itself during the progress of this work—where is the making of Archives, public and private, to stop?—finds an answer. Large businesses and departments will be obliged in the future to ask themselves whether it is worth their while, for their own purposes, to preserve a collection of their documents. If they decide in the affirmative everything, we believe—not only the questions of Archive character which we have here submitted but those of control of bulk and of choice of material and form—every consideration, we believe, will compel them to assign a suitable staff to the purposes we have indicated. Already Public Departments in this country find it necessary to provide for the duties of 'weeding' official documents; and the distributing and indexing Registry is of course a common feature.[1] We have done no more here than to combine the two and suggest certain lines along which their work should be organized.

§ 13. *Registry and the Archivist*

We have already alluded to the similarity between these two, and as their functions must not be confounded we shall do well now to emphasize the great difference. The Controller of Registry is not an Archivist and is not even tied by the Archivist's Rules. Though it is part of his work to preserve he is really creating; while the Archivist preserves only and is not in the least concerned with what Archives are made. Registry therefore, while it will probably require to draw frequently on the advice of its colleagues on the Executive side in connexion with its work of 'consideration' of documents for preservation or destruction, will have recourse to the Archivist only for advice on technical points of preservation. The Archivist, of course, may lighten his future labours by persuading Registry to adopt certain systems of numeration

[1] On the subject of Departmental Registries in England see the Royal Commission's *Second Report*, i, pp. 67 *et seq.*, and ii, pp. 307 *et seq.*

and physical arrangement in the documents which will presently come to him as Archives; but this will be the limit of his personal concern in them until they are finally handed over to his charge.

For convenience we have spoken throughout of the Archivist and Registry as separate entities; as of course they are: but in the smaller offices it will doubtless happen that they are sometimes different manifestations of the same person, who combines both offices; taking over as Archivist the documents which as Registry he had previously arranged to preserve. If his work is to be done efficiently in both capacities he will have to keep his dual personality distinct.

§ 14. *Summary and Conclusion*

We must affirm once more that we have made no attempt here to lay down Rules of Archive-making, but merely to indicate a profound conviction that certain action must be taken along certain lines if Archives of the future are to have the characteristic values of those of the past and are to remain of a reasonable size. In this connexion also we may repeat that much of the effort we have asked for is already being expended in many cases by offices upon their documents only without the method and principle we have here indicated and consequently without much result from the Archive point of view. It may be necessary, as we have suggested above, to draw a line between the offices whose proceedings are of an importance to justify proper Archive-making and those which are not, and upon that point we have no suggestions to offer; but if Archives are to be made, or rather (for there can be no hypothesis in the matter), in those cases where Archives are necessary, we see no alternative to the adoption of the principles we have here attempted to outline.

PART V

WAR ARCHIVES

§ 1. *Introductory*

Throughout this work we have taken the position of expounding what seemed to us the ideal in the matter of Archive practice: at the same time we have (at more than one point) not disguised the fact that an Archivist may be obliged by circumstances occasionally to compromise; not perhaps to relinquish essentials but to modify detailed practice. It is fitting therefore that we should conclude by a short attempt to review the problems attaching to a period and a variety of Archives in every way abnormal; whose character may very well force us to compromise, not, we hope, on main principles but on the strictness of some of those rules of procedure which are ordinarily to be deduced from them. The Archivist may be compelled in such a case while keeping the ideal in view to accept in some instances the next best, the half loaf. We believe such a proceeding to be almost always unnecessary in relation to the Archives of the Past; and we believe that it may be made unnecessary in relation to the Archives of the Future. But the circumstances of the late War could produce nothing that was not a very special case, and they have most indubitably done so in the matter of Archives. We have already remarked upon the enormous mass of experience which was accumulated during the War. That experience was not all in the direction of destruction. The war was also a time of scientific discovery and economic development; both of unprecedented magnitude and variety because the occasion, the compulsion of necessity and the consequent prodigality of all concerned in resources and effort were all alike unprecedented in history.

Now it is not our business here to plead for a policy of

safeguarding in the interests of History the collections of documents which have resulted from the war nor to advance suggestions as to ways and means of housing them. We may perhaps be permitted to say this much: that posterity will have a very heavy charge to lay against us if we fail to draw out of the waste of war such peaceful profits as we may; that not the least of these is experience of every kind; and that this experience is more than anywhere to be sought in the written remains of War-time Administration. We know how relatively small in peace times is the proportion of the populace engaged directly upon the work of the State and how considerable the volume of administrative documents which results: but during the war the majority of the people entered, we may say, into State employment; and that consideration may give us some idea of the documentary material which must have resulted. To inform public opinion as to the value of that material is a task which we must leave to the Historians, general and local, and the Economists, whose proper province it is; and there are not wanting signs [1] that at least some effort is to be made in this direction. It is with the later stages that we as Archivists shall be concerned. Even supposing that the colossal task of finding a way out of the housing difficulty is accomplished and the question of how far decentralization of War Archives is to go finds satisfactory settlement, these collections will still carry the burden of certain problems—Archivist's problems. Some of them are no more than the ordinary ones which confront the Archivist in the case of ordinary Archives, with which we have already dealt. Like them War Archives can be of only three kinds—documents received, documents issued, and documents circulated in the Office; like them they will fall into Archive Groups based on Administration; like them possess the Archive qualities of impartiality and authenticity which it must be the Archivist's main duty to conserve. Upon many archive problems, therefore,

[1] Such as the Conference on Local War Records which met in London under the auspices of the British Academy in September 1920. A summary of the Proceedings has now been printed.

there can be no question of any change of principle—for example, the problems of suitability of housing (apart from the main question of housing at all), of arrangement, of the framing of rules for inspection by the Public, of publication in print: touching these we have nothing more to say than has been said already in the earlier part of this work. But there are some new ones. The bulk of these War Collections; the short time in which they have been compiled; the fact that so large a proportion are the Archives of Administrations which came into existence for the purposes of the War and have vanished or are vanishing with its ending; the total inexperience in Archive making and keeping which naturally marked all the more temporary and *ad hoc* Administrations; the confusion into which even existing Administrative bodies were thrown by the multiplication of their functions and staff; and finally the speed with which, almost before they have ceased to be used for their original purposes these documents are brought to the attention of Historian and Archivist alike—all these considerations combine to make necessary some special discussion of the problems they entail.

We will make no apology for considering them from the standpoint of England alone, because (always supposing that we can produce suggestions which are worth the attention of any one in other countries) the conditions elsewhere will have been sufficiently close to our own to make at least some of the opinions founded on our English experiences reasonably applicable.

§ 2. *The First Consideration*

It is greatly to be hoped that whatever the Authority which may deal with the question of War Archives as a whole, while it will doubtless be inspired by an enthusiasm for the objects of Historical and other scientific research, it will realize that a workable large-scale plan can be based only on consideration of Archives as such. Already at the single Conference which has been held different voices (all from their own point of view highly reasonable) have cried for different and

conflicting things. One wanted immediate communication of those valuable economic compilations which it is understood were attached to so many of the war-time Minutes and Memoranda of Public Departments; another pleaded for the concentration of effort on Local History; and so forth. It has been the bane of most Archive Committees and Commissions set up in this country in the past that, appointed to deal with the salvation of Documentary Collections, they tended always to concentrate on the immediate demands of Historians, with which they should not primarily have concerned themselves. In the present case it may be taken for granted that the money, labour and time available will not be equal to meeting all of these; and we therefore venture with the more emphasis to put in a plea, on Archive grounds, for the devotion of all there is to *the preservation of the completest possible record of War Effort as shown in the written remains of every kind of Local and Public Administration, with no thought for sectional and secondary interests until that first object is accomplished.* What we have here is a mass of written memorials of what was done for the war by all classes, professions, trades and interests in England: let us not confuse our single duty to those with our varied interests in the particulars which may incidentally be obtained from them as to the handling of the problem of Dilution of Labour, the Building of Industrial Quarters or the Training of women in the work of the steel foundry. The fact that such questions (and a great many others, some still unknown to us) will find answer and illustration in these Archives is the justification of our effort to preserve them; but the task of preservation must come first—*the preservation of a complete body of Archives of unimpaired quality.* The Archivist has still his primary and secondary duties;[1] and the primary are still primary.

§ 3. *Bulk and the Question of Selection*

There is little need to dwell on the subject of bulk. The opinion of the Royal Commission as to the amount of War

[1] See above, Part I, § 5, and Part II, §§ 5 and 6.

Archives has already been quoted; and if we take into account the enormous mass which must have been accumulated by (for example) the provincial and local branches of Public Departments, we shall probably conclude that it was a conservative estimate. It is clear therefore that the question of 'weeding' must be raised: it is more imperative even than we found it in connexion with the Archives of the Future[1] because here we are faced with the immediate problem of finding accommodation. Now we have laid it down[2] that weeding in the case of the formed collections of Archives of the Past is a practical impossibility if conducted on proper and safe lines: while with regard to the Archives of the Future it depends upon our being able to get at the documents before they become Archives. The Archives of the late War should clearly belong to the first of these classes (Archives of the Past); but equally clearly we cannot, if we are to preserve at all, refrain from 'weeding'. It follows that we must compromise—do our best to restore these War Archives to the position of Archives of the Future, Archives yet in the making and therefore weedable; and from that again follows the necessity of getting to work with the greatest possible rapidity and in every other way assimilating as closely as possible the position of these documents to that of documents still belonging to current business—the only stage, it will be remembered, in a documentary career at which we proposed to permit destruction. Finally, it follows that not only this condition of destruction but also the others which we laid down, especially that of the persons to whom the work of destruction was to be entrusted, must be made to resemble as nearly as may be those belonging to documents of a living administration. We shall have to return to this subject later.

§ 4. *Relation of Local and Central War Archives*

The War Archives of the great Central or Public Departments, though enormous in size, are as a general rule only an outgrowth

[1] Above, Part IV.
[2] Above, Part III, §§ 5–7.

of their ordinary ones and may be—are being—dealt with from the point of view of sifting and sorting and from that of housing by no more than an extension of the normal procedure and normal machinery used for those purposes in ordinary times. When we speak, therefore, of the problems of War Archives we are concerned chiefly with those Local Collections of Local Administrations, private, semi-public or public, which require special care and special provisions in just the same way (but to a greater extent) as those peace time Local Records; the problems of conserving which have given rise to a whole Report of the late Royal Commission on Public Records;[1] and to which we have even in the present work found it necessary to refer at some length when considering the question of custody and responsible custodians.[2]

Some of these Local War Records already enjoy, nominally at least, a measure of safety because they are attached to Institutions which existed before the War and have continued to exist after it and which have some machinery for Archive keeping, such as County and Borough authorities; some belong to institutions or bodies which, though existing independently of the War, have not normally been accustomed to accumulate Archives to any extent; some are the product of bodies whose existence began and ended with the War. In the third case, and to some extent in the second, problems of great difficulty have to be faced where Archives have either been taken into private custody or have been left in no one quite knows what custody. We are going perhaps a little outside the limits of our work as Archivists but we may suggest that before ever such documents as these can come under our care preliminary Lists will have been required, lists showing all the ramifications of every kind of war-time administration; starting with the various Public Departments and from those branching and branching again through Local Authorities and Sub-Authorities down to the most private organizations.

The purpose of these remarks is to introduce the subject

[1] *Third Report*, 1919.
[2] See above, Part II, § 3.

of the connexion between Public and Private Administration. At all times this connexion is closer than appears upon the surface because after all the mere possibility, and certainly the scope, of most local, private business, or administrative transactions is regulated by the work of the great public departments. But in the present case this connexion is more strongly marked perhaps than it has ever been. War was a period when the individual was necessarily controlled in all his actions by the State: and moreover the individuals and the small local organizations, though the varieties of their employment were innumerable, were all working for the same ends; and those ends were directed from the centre by the permanent or the special War-time Public Departments.

It is very possible that this consideration may introduce new factors of destruction and selection into our treatment of War Archives. For example, every *In letter* implies the existence somewhere of a duplicate in the shape of an *Out-letter*: postulating office methods of an ordinary degree of elaboration we may say that where any transaction involves correspondence between two offices each of those offices will be found to possess the same records of it except that the positions of the documents as In- or Out-letters will be reversed. Normally this consideration does not affect the Archivist particularly because the two sides in the matter, the correspondents, are probably as distinct as possible, one perhaps a private and one a public body, representing separate, if not opposed, interests: even where we have two Public Bodies corresponding with one another it is very doubtful if their several Archives, composing two quite distinct Archive Groups, could ever come to be considered as two parts of a single whole to such an extent as to justify destruction in one on account of the existence of alleged duplicates in the other: certainly they could not if our own rule (that destruction in the future should be based *only* on the current internal needs of the office concerned) is to be accepted. The present circumstances, however, as we have said, permit, even call for, compromise; and is it not possible that in the closeness of the connexions

between war organizations of different grades we have the basis for a great economy in Archive-keeping? In any large tract of war work we may see Whitehall (let us call it A) communicating with its branch representatives (B): the branches passing on information to C (say, Borough Authorities): and these in turn instructing D, the Local Organizations: who may again, perhaps, devolve their business on a series of Sub-Committees (E). Clearly, if the relations A–B, B–C, C–D, D–E can be regarded as merely parts of a single whole, one side of the correspondence (both letters received and those dispatched) may be destroyed in each case: the records preserved by B of the letters he sent to and received from A, by C of his correspondence with B, by D of what passed between him and C and by E (who has no subordinate) of everything—may go. Let us see what this, as a serious proposal, implies. We had better perhaps treat it in a separate section.

§ 5. *Necessary work preliminary to the settlement of Local War Archives*

We have already said that an indispensable preliminary if Local War Archives are properly and seriously taken in hand will be the drawing up of a reasoned list of all the local organizations, high and low. It now appears that a second is the arrangement of these in a kind of series of genealogical trees showing the ascendants and descendants, up to the responsible Ministry and down to the most humble local committee, of every unit in every branch, Medical, Munitions, Food, Recruiting and the rest, of war-time activities. But before we proceed any further upon this line of suggestion let us see what criticisms may be levelled at the scheme for reduction of War Archives which has led us in this direction: we have already admitted that it is a compromise.

In the first place it contravenes the well-established rule that of two copies of a document the first or original should always be the one selected for preservation. We might meet this possibly by arranging not that the whole correspondence

between A and B as it exists, in copies and originals, in the office of B should be destroyed but that each side should destroy copies of *Out-letters*. This, however, would result in the Archives of a transaction being preserved in two places instead of one, which is objectionable: moreover, a fairly reasonable answer to the criticism is available to the effect that the rule contemplates two separately made copies rather than the now usual mechanical copy of a typewritten document.

A second criticism would be similar to that advanced in an earlier part of this book against the destruction of so-called duplicates in Archives of the past without careful collation; which is, of course, in the present instance, more than ever impossible; without it we have, it is true, no security that the so-called duplicates are really so; there may be additions to the original which were not added to the copy preserved—we have nothing to rely on except the usual practice of making such corrections in both. This is quite true, and though the modern method of copying once more relieves us almost entirely of the possibility of accidental error we have still no guarantee against the omission of corrections. This much we must risk if we are to adopt the plan.

A third objection we have already partly dealt with when we said that, though independent, the numerous Archive Groups of War time are yet, in a sense, stronger than at any ordinary time, members of a single whole. Our chain, to adopt Maitland's misquotation, is no stronger than its first link: the whole of our scheme turns upon the work to be done by the central departments upon their War Archives: to some extent we must await their results.

At the same time and to whatever extent, great or small, the policy of destruction here advocated may be taken up; to whatever extent, too, precautions are to be taken, whether a list of documents which it is proposed to destroy is to be checked against the duplicates in another office or whether (as is more likely) a rough indication of the existence of the latter must be considered sufficient:—whether, in fine, we can do little or much by this means in the matter of the reduction

of quantities, we must still press the view that the first task, after discovering the Local Archives of the war, must be the establishment of their relations one with another and all with the Central Administration of the Country. We are well aware that to do this entails great labour,[1] but the result will be of real importance: it may be made such a piece of Administrative History as has seldom been put together, and it will certainly give to our War Archives such form and homogeneity as no body of Archives of equal size and equally wide distribution has ever had before.

§ 6. *Minutes, Accounts, and other Special Archives*

Archives, as we have said so many times in the course of this work, are essentially, in all periods and guises, of the same nature and subject to the same affections. It need not therefore surprise us that our scheme for economizing in preservation breaks down in the case of War Archives at the same point as it did [2] in the case of the Archives of the Future whose making we discussed in the last part. It is impossible in both cases to bring some at least of the Memoranda Class of Archives, the Archives which are not subject to transmission, into a general scheme of treatment; they must be dealt with upon their own merits, and it will be found very difficult, unless a copy of Accounts (for example) was submitted to higher authority, to find a ground on which they may be condemned if we are to keep to our initial principle of a complete Record. Any preliminary examination of a group of War Archives should therefore include a careful report upon the Minutes, Office Memoranda (including all Registers) and Accounts, if they exist. If they are not preserved elsewhere, or preserved only in the form of a summary, it will almost certainly be a definite contravention of principle, an exceeding of the bounds of legitimate compromise, to destroy them.

[1] Some of the work has, of course, been done already; and in any case the material for a great part of it should be in existence in the Archives of the Public Departments. The point is that it needs putting together in respect of all departments of war activity, and for the specific purpose of securing War Archives.

[2] See above, Part IV, § 11.

§ 7. *Collection and Arrangement*

In view of the necessity for rapid action to which we have already referred and the further necessity which we have now established for a certain pause for reflection and further information before any attempt at final settlement is made, it would seem clear that the next step will be the arrangement for collection and for a temporary housing *en masse*: there should, in fact, be an intermediate stage between the present state of affairs and any permanent arrangement, whatever that may be and under whatever authorities it may be organized. Let us make the rather large assumption that those interested in the policy of preservation will be able to accomplish this: there arises then the question, who should be the instruments of this work and upon what lines should they proceed?

We have already suggested that apart from the revolutionary method of reduction which we have proposed, selection and destruction of these Archives may be feasible if we can put them in the position of documents belonging to the current work of administration. With this end in view and indeed upon every consideration, it is an urgent need that (through Local Committees or by whatever other means may be found) the co-operation should be secured of persons who were officially concerned with the making of the documents now in question:[1] they alone can bring them back, as it were, into a temporary state of currency for the purposes of a reasoned selection based on their position in the administrative work of the office; and from every point of view they obviously are the persons most qualified to deal with them rapidly and efficiently.

For the purposes of weeding they will not, of course, have the advantage of the Register the making of which we suggested when discussing this matter in a previous part;[2] but they should still find it possible to select for preservation and destruction on the basis there suggested—that of the importance

[1] The temporary housing of War Archives and their immediate treatment by officials who were concerned in making them is the plan which has generally been recommended to and adopted by the Public Departments.

[2] Above, Part IV.

or non-importance of each document in advancing the administrative work of which it formed a part. Apart from legitimate weeding of this kind the amount of work to be done upon the Archives must depend on the amount of time and money which may prove to be available, on the decisions which may be arrived at as to housing and custody and upon numerous other points of policy which have yet to be settled. We may suggest, however, that whether or no our further plans for destruction are to be accepted some kind of summary survey and listing must be put through at the earliest opportunity: because whatever action is to be taken will be dependent upon those in Authority, those who are to take it, being supplied with some information as to the contents and extent of the collections they are to dispose of. Moreover, these documents have not yet reached the stage of Archives: it is highly important that every effort should be made, before they reach the Public Libraries, County Authorities, Borough Authorities, specially constituted Repositories or whatever other position and administration may be ultimately in store for them, not only to reduce but to set them in order. Otherwise their chance of receiving such treatment as is laid down in the present work [1] for Archives will be small indeed.

To the preliminary tasks we have all too vaguely indicated here we may add a postscript. It is practically certain that a number of the documents which will be judged most worthy of preservation will be found to have been made with unsuitable materials.[2] Apart from the fact that large numbers of the persons concerned cannot have been aware of any obligation in the matter and, even if they had been, would not have had time to regard it, the paper shortage which obtained, especially at the end of the war, led to the manufacture and use of some of the worst materials that have ever been known. This will have affected particularly the carbon copies from typed letters. To what extent it went it is almost impossible to say at this stage: it is conceivable that the paper and colouring of such copies is bad in such a number of instances as would make

[1] See above, Part II, § 6. [2] See above, Part IV, § 2.

the application of our scheme for destruction a difficult matter.[1] In any case one of the preliminary duties will be the noting of all such cases with a view to their recopying.[2]

§ 8. *Final Custody*

Though ways and means are, as we have said, a matter of policy and consequently no business of ours, we may for completeness add a few words as to this last stage which we hope these local War Archives will reach. So far we have emphasized the necessity of treating them all as parts of one large whole, but we fancy that when it comes to the question of their final homes there will be no room for doubt that these must be provided locally. Will it be done best by County Authorities? Borough Authorities? Libraries? or by the combined efforts of all these and perhaps other bodies? If there is liable to be any doubt where in any given district the local war Archives are deposited it may be advisable to have a general guide giving information upon this point; but apart from this consideration we cannot see that it will matter who is the custodian: the important point will be—is it understood that all these custodians are bound to the observance of certain elementary Archive principles? We come back here to the point which was raised much earlier in this work;[3] when we concluded that anybody might declare itself an Archive-keeping body for a special purpose and might be considered qualified to preserve the Archive character of documentary collections which it took over upon certain simple conditions; which we will venture to recapitulate here in summary. The final Custodians, then, of our local War Archives must:

(1) be a body or institution having some guarantee of permanency;

[1] Because we might find that only the first or original copy was preservable.

[2] It is possible that a central organization might be arranged for doing this by means of the photostat machine; but all such details are, of course, in the air at the present stage.

[3] See above, Part II, § 3.

(2) take over direct from the original custodians or their representatives;

(3) be prepared to be bound by the ordinary Archive rules[1] as to care, custody, and methods of arrangement; and in particular must

(4) take over collections whole—they must take over the documents as a body of archives, not as a number of Museum specimens.

There is already a strong movement (though not yet so strong as is necessary) for securing somehow permanent resting places for collections of private muniments in this country. It would seem clear that any movement for the preservation of Local War Archives should be linked to this.

§ 9. *Summary and Conclusion*

However strongly we may feel upon the matter it is very little that we can do at this stage in the way of laying down a Scheme for the Preservation of Local War Records: let us, however, summarize what poor conclusions we have obtained.

In the first place we are limited, in England, to *Local* War Archives, that is to say the Archives of every Administration excluding Public Departments.

Clearly the first thing needed for the purpose of dealing with these will be a central body to lay down a policy.

That policy must, we have ventured to suggest, start with a determination to do nothing in the interests of particular students or classes of students until the general interests of its charges—War Archives—have been provided for as a whole.

Next, in spite of the limitation we have referred to above, our Central Authority will be intimately concerned with the proceedings of Public Departments in relation to their departmental War Archives: its own policy (particularly in the matter of selection and destruction) must be largely based upon a clear knowledge of what has been done and what Archives preserved in these departmental collections: and

[1] Above, Part II, §§ 5 and 6.

it would seem therefore to be a necessary first step to establish such relations as will enable it to procure the information it requires.

Meanwhile rapidity is, for various reasons which we have considered, essential in dealing with the local collections: these cannot afford to mark time.

A first preliminary to their treatment is the compilation of a list of them in connexion with the Public Departments to which they were directly or indirectly subordinated: a list showing their relationships.

This done and pending that settlement of policy which will be based upon a consideration of the public (central) collections, the Local Archives must be got together and submitted to preliminary examination, listing, and report. This examination and listing must be subject to the ordinary Archive rules.[1]

The effective carrying out of this plan involves great difficulties: from an Archive point of view the most necessary thing is that it should be done by persons who had an official connexion with the making of the documents.[2] Certain selection and destruction might be carried out by these persons on the lines recommended in the present work for the making of the Archives of the Future.[3]

Chief among those lines is the principle that Destruction must be based not on the alleged importance or interest of any single document for historical purposes, but on its importance in the administrative action or proceeding of which it formed a part.

A further reduction of the quantities to be preserved may possibly be based on the establishment of a chain of administrative connexion running up from the lowest grade of local organization to the Public Department and departmental War Archives, and on the treatment of all War Archives, public and private, as an organic whole. The last work upon

[1] See above, Part II, § 6.

[2] Not of course with the making of all (that would be impossible), but with the making of representative classes of them.

[3] See above, Part IV.

local War Archives, previous to their deposit in their final resting place will, presumably be a reconsideration of their claims to preservation made along these lines.

What final resting places it is found possible to secure for them will not matter, provided they conform to certain essential Archive considerations and rules.

War Archives, owing to the circumstances of their compilation, offer an unique opportunity for experimenting in the practical application of Archive Science; and it would be particularly suitable that England, with its unrivalled collections of earlier Archives and its remarkable tale of war work, should be the field of such an attempt. But if it is to be efficacious the work will need to be taken in hand very speedily; and there is much reason to fear that the opportunity may be lost.

APPENDIX I

A CONSPECTUS OF THE DIVISIONS OF ADMINISTRATIONS AND ARCHIVES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, IN ENGLAND

A. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROPER.

(1) CENTRAL. (*a*) The 'Courts': i. e. developments of Functions and Officials of the Royal Court.
(*b*) Further developments of these.
(*c*) New Administrations more directly dependent upon the Crown.
(*d*) Developments of these—in particular the Secretary of State.
(*e*) Public Departments.

(2) LOCAL. (*a*) Branches of Central Administration acting locally.
(*b*) Local Administration Proper.

B. PUBLIC BUT INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATIONS.

(1) ECCLESIASTICAL.
(2) PALATINATES.
(3) BOROUGHS AND OTHER CORPORATIONS.

C. PRIVATE ADMINISTRATIONS.

(1) INSTITUTIONS.
(2) INDIVIDUALS.

Note

The figures and letters given in brackets, thus—[II, § 2 (e)] after any of the documents mentioned in this Appendix represent the Part, Section, and Sub-section of the present work in which reference to them will be found.

It must be understood that we here attempt no more than a Summary, the object of which is to put in their places in a General Scheme the various Archives used for illustration in the text of this book. We therefore give no details and refer to very few authorities. An admirable Summary of the Archives described above under *A* (1) is Mr. Johnson's *The Public Record Office* (S.P.C.K. Helps for Students of History, No. 4), and the new

edition of Bird's *Guide to the Public Records* now in preparation will be found very valuable. For *A* (2) and for *B* the student should consult the *Second* and *Third Reports* of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1910), especially summaries in Part I, pp. 8 to 18 and Part II, pp. 42 to 56 of the *Third Report* and the Appendices (Part II in each case) to both. To these may be added Stubbs's *Historical Appendices* to the *Report* of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission (1883) and the *Seventeenth* and *Eighteenth Reports* and Topographical Guide (1914) published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

It should also be noted that these classes on occasion run into each other:[1] for example, the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Courts of Probate of the Middle Ages are now in the hands of the High Court (Admiralty, Probate and Divorce Division); and the Archives of Civil and Ecclesiastical Parishes are always liable to be mixed. Again, any of the documents which occur normally under the classes here called *A* (2), *B*, and *C*, are liable to occur exceptionally, owing to some accident of procedure or custody, among those of *A* (1). Further, there is always in any large Archive Group a body like some of the Record Office *Miscellaneous Books* (II, § 2 *e*)—documents whose administrative connexion with their fellows has been lost. And strays from any of the classes without exception may be found in a Museum or private collection having no connexion with the place, person, or body to which they properly belong.[2]

With these exceptions the Administrative Divisions of the past should be the Archive Divisions of the present.

A. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROPER

(1) Central.

(*a*) *The 'Courts'.* Central Administration under the Norman kings is in the hands of their personal entourage—the Court. The Chancellor is the King's Secretary and incidentally chief Executive Officer, so far as writing is concerned. The Court, sitting as a financial body at the Scaccarium (Chequer or Counting Board), supervises the annual check of the accounts of Local Officials

[1] See Part II, § 2, on Transmission of Archives.

[2] Thus almost at the moment when this was being written the British Museum was investigating the case of a fragment, found in a binding in the Department of Manuscripts, which should properly be in the Record Office series of Wardrobe Accounts.

(mainly sheriffs in the first instance). The Treasurer and Chamberlains control the valuables (including Archives) kept in the King's Treasury or his Chamber. The Justiciar has the duties his name implies. Gradually each of these aspects or divisions of the Court becomes a business department or series of departments with permanent staff and Archives, and we have the 'Court' of Chancery: the 'Court' of Exchequer, divided presently between the King's and the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancers (preliminary and final Audit): the Treasury proper, mainly a Repository: the Receipt (office of the Treasurer and Chamberlains or their Deputies) and two further differentiations of the Exchequer—the Exchequer of Pleas and Exchequer of the Jews: and the Curia Regis—the legal court divided later into Common Pleas (Civil) and King's Bench (Crown Pleas).[1] Parliament and Council deposit for a considerable time their Archives with the Chancery with which they are closely connected.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

CHANCERY.
- Miscellanea. [II, §§ 1 (*d*), 2 (*a*), and 6 (*a*).]
- Charter, Patent, Close and other Rolls. [I, § 2; II, §§ 1 (*d*), (*e*) and (*h*), 5 (*k*), 6 (*g*) and (*r*).]
- Parliament Roll. [II, § 5 (*k*).]
- Inquisitions. [I, § 2 (*d*); II, § 1 (*d*) and (*e*).]

EXCHEQUER L. T. R.
- Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls. [II, § 1 (*b*) and (*h*); III, § 4 (*a*).]
- Memoranda Rolls. [II, §§ 1 (*e*) and (*h*) and 6 (*r*).]

EXCHEQUER K. R.
- Memoranda Rolls (parallel but not identical with above).
- Accounts and Vouchers. [I, § 2; II, §§ 2 (*e*) and 6 (*a*); III, 4 (*d*); App. V (i) (*b*).]
- Miscellaneous Books. [II, § 2 (*e*).]

EXCHEQUER T. R.
- (Mainly a Repository.) [II, §§ 5 (*l*) and 6 (*l*).]
- Domesday. [II, § 5 (*n*).]

RECEIPT.
- [I, §§ 2 and 4; III, § 4 (*a*); App. V *passim*.]

EXCHEQUER OF PLEAS.
- Plea Rolls. [II, §§ 1 (*e*) and 6 (*r*).]

EXCHEQUER OF JEWS.
- Plea Rolls. [II, § 1 (*e*).]

KING'S BENCH.
- Curia Regis Rolls. [II, § 2 (*a*).]
- Coram Rege Plea Roll. [II, § 5 (*g*).]
- Ancient Indictments. [II, § 1 (*b*).]

[1] For the differentiation of Archive Classes *see* Part II, § 1.

COMMON PLEAS.
C. P. Plea Roll. [II, § 2 (*b*).]
Feet of Fines. [I, § 4; II, § 2 (*c*) and (*d*), and 6 (*j*); III, § 3.]

(*b*) *Further Development* is in the direction of increase of business and consequently of the size, number, and variety of Administrative Divisions and Archives. The Chancery developed a small Common Law and an enormous Equity Jurisdiction. The circumstances of Tudor politics added to the Exchequer the Court of Wards, Court of First Fruits and Tenths, and Court of Augmentations. The Receipt grew (as may be seen in App. V (i)) till in the nineteenth century, with a number of the other Exchequer Divisions, it was first taken over by a Controller General and last of all abolished.

While new functions were being added to the Courts old ones passed from them. The Chancery lost most of its executive functions and the Exchequer was superseded financially by new bodies,[1] though their old Archives persisted. Similarly, though the Chancery continued to enrol statutes the two Houses of Parliament started independent Registers of their Proceedings, as did the Council.

Proceedings in the old Judicial Courts went on increasing in volume and complication till, with the Chancery and Exchequer Courts of Law, they were amalgamated in the nineteenth-century Supreme Court. Meanwhile new Legal Courts—those of Star Chamber and Requests (offshoots of the Council)—had come in, persisted for a while and lapsed again.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

CHANCERY.
Chancery Proceedings (with Depositions, Decrees and Orders and so forth). [II, § 1 (*d*).]
EXCHEQUER, F. F.
Bishops' Certificates, &c. [I, § 2 (*c*); II, §§ 2 (*b*) and 6 (*q*).]
EXCHEQUER, AUGMENTATION OFFICE.
Miscellaneous Books (Archives of Religious Houses). [II, § 2 (*e*).]
RECEIPT.
Auditors and Pells Records (various). [App. V (i) (*j*), (*k*), (*l*).]
CONTROLLER GENERAL OF THE EXCHEQUER.
(General Note.) [II, § 6 (*q*); App. V (i) (*m*).]
KING'S BENCH.
Cause Books. [II, § 6 (*bb*).]

[1] See following sections, (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*).

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.
(General Note.) [II, §§ 2 (*b*), 3 and 6 (*r*).]
Admiralty, Probate, and Divorce Division. [II, § 6 (*q*).]
Chancery Division. [II, § 6 (*c*).]
King's Bench Division. [II, § 6 (*r*).]
COURT OF REQUESTS.
Depositions. [III, § 3.]
PARLIAMENT.
House of Lords Journals. [II, § 6 (*g*).]
PRIVY COUNCIL.
Registers. [II, § 6 (*g*).]

(*c*) *New Administrations more directly dependent upon the Crown.* As the 'Courts' were departmentalized and the Chancellor, for example, ceased to follow the King, new means were sought by which the King might exercise a direct influence upon Administration: they were found first in the Chamber and later in the Wardrobe, the King controlling his Finance by spending through the Wardrobe and his Executive by using the Privy Seal to warrant the issue of letters under the Great Seal by the Chancellor. The process was repeated when the Privy Seal was in turn departmentalized. In every case the new Administration rose up under the old and took up its functions. These new Administrations have not left Archives, but quantities of letters under the Privy and other small seals are with the Chancery under the title *Warrants for the Great Seal*: similarly wardrobe accounts survive as vouchers in the Exchequer, K.R.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

WARDROBE AND SMALL SEALS.
General Note. [I, § 1.]
Wardrobe Accounts. [II, § 6 (*q*).]
Chancery Warrants. [I, § 2 (*f*); II, §§ 2 (*b*) and 6 (*r*).]

(*d*) *Further Developments.* When the Privy Seal was in turn departmentalized there arose under it the Signet; and the Keeper of the Signet, the King's Secretary, became under the Tudors Secretary of State. The practice started with this official—or rather these officials, for there were shortly two—of using the informal letter for important business, and we have thus *State Papers* consisting of original Letters Received, copies or Entry Books of Letters Despatched, and Office Memoranda: at the same time there came into fashion two new formal kinds of Record—Minutes of Proceedings and Accounts, the forms of which more or less

persist to the present day (Part IV, § 9). Meanwhile, there had grown up, or were growing up, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, other new bodies independent of the old. The practice of 'declaring' accounts before the Auditors established in the reign of Elizabeth was taking financial administration out of the hands of the old Exchequer: the Privy Council or its Committees acted with or independently of the Secretary of State: the putting into commission of the office of Treasurer (which first occurred in 1612) and of that of Lord High Admiral (1628) brought two more new authorities into being: various 'Boards' appear—the Board of Ordnance dating from the sixteenth century, and the Board of Trade and Plantations from 1696: and the Sovereign's Personal Household (the old Wardrobe) was split up into the two divisions of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward.

The Archives of these Administrations up to the end of the eighteenth century are either among those of the Secretaries of State or have been annexed to the later Departments mentioned in (*e*) below. The State Papers after Henry VIII are divided into Domestic, Foreign, and Colonial: within these classes they were much 'methodized' under subjects in the eighteenth century (Part II, § 1 (*j*)).

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

AUDIT OFFICE.
Declared Account. [App. V (i) (*q*).]
STATE PAPERS.
Henry VIII. [I, § 2 (*c*).]
Domestic. [II, §§ 6 (*a*) and 9 (*c*).]
Foreign. [II, § 6 (*a*).]
Colonial. [II, § 6 (*d*).]

(*e*) *Public Departments* as they are now result from the development and subdivision of the Secretaries of State's offices, development and persistence of some of the other offices mentioned in the last section (e. g. the Treasury), and in some cases combination of one with another (e. g. the War Office). Modern development of the Departments takes the form of internal subdivision (as in the case of most large offices, e. g. the Admiralty or War Office) or the organization of outside Branches, Registries, &c., which, while more or less independent, are still subject to the original Department (as e. g. the Accounting and Revenue Departments are subject to the Treasury). There is also the possibility of the formation by Act of Parliament of entirely new

Departments; as was done for example for the purposes of the late War, or indeed in the case of the Public Record Office in 1838.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

ADMIRALTY.
(General Reference.) [I, § 8.]
Logs. [I, § 8; II, § 6 (*g*).]
AUDIT OFFICE.
Miscellanea. [I, § 2 (*f*).]
COLONIAL OFFICE.
Acts. [I, § 2 (*c*).]
FOREIGN OFFICE.
(General Reference.) [I, § 2.]
HOME OFFICE.
(General Reference.) [I, § 2.]
MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.
(General Reference.) [I, §§ 8 and 9.]
QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY COMMISSIONERS.
Bishops' Certificates. [II, § 6 (*q*).]
TREASURY.
Papers. [I, § 2 (*c*); II, §§ 1 (*d*) and 6 (*j*).]
Expired Commissions: African Companies. [II, §§ 1 (*d*), 2 (*f*), and 6 (*v*).]
TREASURY SOLICITOR.
Papers. [II, § 6 (*v*).]
WAR OFFICE.
(General Reference.) [I, §§ 2 (*c*) and 8; II, § 6 (*p*).]

NOTE

Before going further we should perhaps observe that the above classification does not cover all the contents of the Public Record Office. Thus 'methodization' in the past has left us certain classes due only to subject interest and known now as *Special Collections*: to which we must add the classes of *Deposited Documents* and *Transcripts* (generally from other Archives).

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.
Ancient Correspondence. [II, § 6 (*a*).]
Ancient Deeds. [II, § 6 (*a*).]
Loose Seals. [II, § 5 (*l*).]
Court Rolls. [II, § 2 (*b*).]
Ministers' Accounts. [II, § 2 (*b*).]

DEPOSITED DOCUMENTS.
(General Reference.) [II, § 6 (*z*).]
Chatham MSS. [II, § 4.]
Rodney Papers. [II, § 4.]
Serjeants' Inn Papers. [II, § 2 (*d*).]
TRANSCRIPTS.
(General Reference.) [II, § 6 (*z*).]
For Public Record Office. [II, § 6 (*z*).]
For Canadian Archives. [II, § 6 (*z*).]

(2) LOCAL.

(*a*) *Branches.* Archives of this description are generally regarded as 'Local', but properly speaking they are only Archives of Central Administrations which happen to be made and kept locally owing to the circumstances of the work performed; or by the accident of deposit: sometimes they are not even made locally. Medievally the chief examples of such are the Archives of Justices in Eyre or Justices functioning locally upon some other commission. Their Archives were deposited (but very irregularly) at Westminster. To these have succeeded the modern Justices of Assize, whose Archives, dating from the seventeenth century, were brought into the Public Record Office not many years ago. The Court of Great Sessions set up by Henry VIII in Wales, whose Archives are also at the centre, is parallel to these.

In addition in modern times other branches of administration have found it convenient or necessary to have local branches. Obvious examples are the War Office with its Commands, the Admiralty with its Dockyards, the General Post Office with Provincial Offices: to which we may add legal instances in the shape of District Registries of the High Court.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

JUSTICES ITINERANT, ETC.
Assize Rolls, &c. [II, § 1 (*b*).]
WAR OFFICE.
Command Papers. [III, § 7.]

(*b*) *Local Administration Proper.* These, with their Archives, are distinguished from (*a*) above by the fact that they are, as Administrations, local, besides dealing with local affairs. The class includes the medieval administrations of such officials as the Sheriff, Escheator, Coroner, and Justice of the Peace. If a Bill which was before the Lords in 1547 [1] had passed we should have

[1] See the Lords' *Journals*. I am indebted to Professor A. F. Pollard for this reference.

had County Repositories, and a considerable amount of their Archives might have been preserved: as it is they survive to us only as vouchers or returns sent in to the Exchequer or the Chancery, or in the archives of families whose ancestors held official positions and the like chance places of deposit.

Modern Local Archives are those of County Courts, Coroners' Courts, and the like, and those of County Councils, Clerks of Urban and District Councils, Town Trusts, Civil Parishes, and so forth. The oldest as a rule are the Sessions Records—Middlesex Records, e.g., date from the sixteenth century. For a representative statement of such Archives see the Royal Commission (1910), *Third Report*, ii, p. 17 (List of Records to be found in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace). Generally speaking, we may say that Legislation in the eighteenth century was responsible for much Archive-making, of which a considerable amount remains.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

ARCHIVES OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.
County Councils.
General Reference. [II, § 6 (*c*).]
Bedfordshire. [II, § 3.]
London. [II, § 2 (*b*).]
Among Family Muniments.
Musters. [II, § 2 (*e*).]

B. PUBLIC BUT INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATIONS

It is to be observed that Administrations other than the Central Public ones tend always to a certain extent to reproduce the forms of the latter. Ecclesiastical Archives are the least subject to this rule because the style of many of them is based on that of the Papal Chancery, but in the case of more temporal business they too incline to the Royal models. Similarly in modern times Public Departments set the fashion in administrative forms.

(1) ECCLESIASTICAL. The outline of this Administration is easy, following as it does the well-marked divisions of the hierarchy: and the Archives are equally distinct, being distributed between Diocesan Registries, the Muniments of Chapters, Archidiaconal Registries, Ruridiaconal Muniments, and Parish Chests; each class dealing with the Church business appropriate to it. Thus we have Bishops' Registers (from the thirteenth century) and the Records of Consistory Courts: Deans' and Chapters' Muniments

vary in quality according as their churches are of the old or of new foundation; they produce Accounts, Chapter Act Books, Deeds and Fabric Rolls: Archdeacons' and Rural Deans' Records are very much confused and scattered: Parish Chests seldom produce pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts, but after that date we have Accounts, Registers, and Tithe Awards.

To these must be added those Archives of Religious which by successive political adjustments have been transferred to secular authority. Such are the Archives of the property of Religious Houses transferred at the Dissolution and of Central Authorities (Courts of First Fruits and of Augmentations) set up to deal with it: these are now Public Archives, and have been described accordingly above: the same applies to muniments of Church Property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The older Probate Records, in origin purely ecclesiastical, similarly form part now of a public administration under the High Court.

Note that most of the Administration and Archives which have left ecclesiastical hands are those relating to temporalities: an exception is the Court of Delegates—a Court of Appeal replacing that of Rome and later itself replaced by other machinery.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

DIOCESAN.
Bishops' Registers. [II, § 1 (*h*).]
CHAPTER.
Muniments of Dean and Chapter of Westminster. [App. V (i) (*o*).]
PARISH.
Registers. [II, §§ 1 (*g*) and 2 (*f*).]
RELIGIOUS HOUSES.
(Chertsey, Pershore, Ramsey) Cartularies in Augmentation Office and elsewhere. [II, § 2 (*e*).]
(Archives belonging to the Court of First Fruits and the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty already mentioned.)
PROBATE.
(General Reference.) [II, § 6 (*q*).]

(2) PALATINATES. The Palatinate was a district, or series of districts, jurisdiction in which was given to some private person to exercise as fully as the King would have done if he had not made the grant. It therefore reproduces even more closely than usual the Administrative and Archive forms of the Central Government. Those which have left Archives are the Palatinates of Chester, Durham, Ely, and Lancaster[1] (with which the adminis-

[1] There are of course many other more or less independent jurisdictions which

tration of the *Duchy* of Lancaster is inextricably entangled). All these jurisdictions have returned to the Crown, with the exception of the Chancery Court of the Palatinate of Lancaster and the nominal Duchy Court of Lancaster. Palatinate Archives have also all returned to the centre, with the exception of those of Ely and some of Lancaster. Other Palatinates, such as Pembroke, have not survived in the form of Archives, though we have stray documents.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

PALATINATE OF CHESTER.
Plea Rolls. [II, § 2 (*a*).]
PALATINATE OF DURHAM.
Register. [II, § 8 (*d*).]
DUCHY OF LANCASTER.
Court Rolls and Ministers' Accounts. [II, § 2 (*b*).]

(3) BOROUGHS AND OTHER CORPORATIONS. In these we include all bodies which have had special administrative or business functions and privileges by right derived from the Crown, whether exercised by prescription or (as in most cases) by direct grant. To mention only a few classes of these we have Boroughs, Cities, and Towns (notably, of course, London); Corporations such as the City Companies; Learned Bodies such as Universities with their special privileges; and the great Trading or Colonial Companies which were in effect given a monopoly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

CORPORATIONS.
Stationers' Company (Copyright Records). [II, § 2 (*d*).]
Serjeants' Inn Records. [II, § 2 (*d*).]
TRADING COMPANIES.
African Companies. [II, §§ 1 (*d*), 2 (*f*), and 6 (*v*).]

C PRIVATE ADMINISTRATIONS

(1) INSTITUTIONS. It is sometimes rather difficult to draw the line between these and the privileged corporations, &c., mentioned in (*B* (3)) above; but properly speaking, though they may be incorporated by a Royal Grant, it is one which does not [1] confer on

lie between ordinary Local Courts and Palatinates. Such was the Stannary Court, only abolished in 1896 when its jurisdiction was transferred to the County Court. A curious survival was recently (Dec. 1920) in evidence in the shape of the Court of the Soke of Peterborough.

[1] Even this is subject to one exception, since the ordinary rights which go with the tenure of landed property may be held to proceed ultimately from the Crown.

them functions or jurisdiction which might otherwise have been exercisable by the Crown : alternatively they may be obliged (as are, e. g., modern companies) to seek incorporation or registration in some public office as a duty rather than a privilege.

(2) INDIVIDUALS are on the same footing as the private INSTITUTIONS, except that they are single.

Archives of both these classes are distinguished as a rule by the closeness with which they copy where possible (as in the case of Accounts, Court Rolls, and Tallies) the fashions of Public Administration.

They include Family Papers and Accounts, the Muniments of Property, the Records of Private Jurisdictions, the Archives of Business or Commerce, and, in the case of modern Institutions, collections more or less historical, which may be said to acquire a certain Archive character after going into official custody. They also include sometimes what should be Public Records and, as we have seen, Local Records.. On the other hand, we have seen cases where they have themselves come down to us in a Public Archive connexion.

Archives used in Illustration in this Book

PRIVATE FAMILY PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS.
- General references. [I, § 2 (*d*) ; II, §§ 2 (*a*) and 6 (*r*).]
- Private tallies. [I, § 2 (*f*).]
- Earl of Crawford's Collections. [I, § 2 (*c*).]
- Watt Papers. [II, § 3.]

PRIVATE FAMILY PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS (containing Public Records).
- Cecil MSS. [II, § 2 (*e*).]
- Duke of Leeds' MSS. [II, §§ 2 (*e*), 6 (*y*).]
- Losely MSS. [II, § 2 (*e*).]

PRIVATE FAMILY PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS (now among Public Archives).
- Cely and Stonor Papers. [II, § 6 (*a*).]
- Chatham MSS. [II, § 4.]
- Rodney MSS. [II, § 4.]
- Cartularies of Religious. [II, § 2 (*e*).]
- Correspondence. [II, § 6 (*a*).]

MUNIMENTS OF PROPERTY.
- Deeds. [II, §§ 3 and 6 (*a*).]
- Pembroke College, Cambridge, Collections. [II, § 5 (*l*).]
- Winchester College Collections. [II, § 5 (*g*).]

LAND JURISDICTION.
- Court Rolls and Ministers' Accounts. [II, § 2 (*b*).]

BUSINESS ARCHIVES.
- (General Reference.) [I, § 2 (*d*).]
- See also *Watt Papers* mentioned above.

APPENDIX II

SKETCH FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARCHIVE SCIENCE

A COMPLETE Bibliography of Archive Science is much to be desired. Such a Bibliography would be in effect a Catalogue of the Ideal Library for an Archivist. But even excluding the special subjects, and dealing only with works having a direct bearing upon Archive problems, it would be too large a task to be attempted here.

At the same time every Archivist needs a Reference Library, large or small according to the size of his collection, but constructed, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same principle as all other Archive Libraries. It seems, therefore, desirable to lay down certain conditions essential for such a Library.

In particular this is important—that an Archivist's Library (or Bibliography) should be arranged strictly according to the Archive needs it is desired to serve. This arrangement will for the most part differ completely from that which any General Librarian would affect: for example, any given series of publications—say the Public Record Office Series of *Lists and Indexes*—would be classed together in a General Library; but the Archivist in constructing either his paper Bibliography or his actual Library would split up such a series according to the Administrative Groups—i. e. Archive Groups—to which the volumes in it supply a key; interspersing them, if he had a large collection, among other books.[1]

[1] No attempt has been made in this sketch to instance even representative books; but it may be convenient to mention here together a few which are useful as Bibliographies for various parts of the subject.

Giry, A. *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Bibliography). (Paris: 1894.)

Gross, C. *The Sources and Literature of English History* . . . (2nd edition: London: 1915.)

Johnson, C., and Jenkinson, H. *Court Hand Illustrated* (Bibliography). (Oxford: 1915.)

Langlois, C. V. Article 'La Science des Archives' in *Revue Internationale des Bibliothèques, des Archives et des Musées.* (Paris: 1895–6.)

Langlois, C. V., et Stein, C. *Archives de l'Histoire de France.* (Paris: 1891.)

Lelong, A. Article 'Archives' in *Répertoire général alphabétique du Droit Français.* (Paris: 1889.)

Prou, M. *Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française* (Bibliography). (3rd edition: Paris: 1910.)

Royal Commission on Public Records (1910). *First, Second and Third Reports*: especially Bibliography in *First Report.* (London: 1912, 1914, 1919.)

The following general scheme, therefore, is suggested for an Archivist's Library of Reference, or Bibliography of Archive Science:

§ 1. Archive Theory. (Custody, Care, Arrangement and Publication.)
§ 2. Archive Sources. (Printed Guides to Existing Archives.)
§ 3. Archive Making. (Administration, Public and Private, Past and Present.)
§ 4. Archives Printed.
§ 5. Archives in Use. (Elucidation and Interpretation.)

Taking these in a little more detail:

§ 1. Archive Theory may be classified as follows:

(*a*) *General Works.* These, though their main conclusions are the same, vary in different countries according to the National Character of the Archives on whose particular needs and peculiarities they are based. They should therefore be arranged under countries. This class will include the Rules and Regulations published periodically by Archive Authorities; except special ones which come under (*b*) below.

(*b*) *Works on Special Subjects.* (i) *Buildings and Fittings.* The Archivist's interest in such books is governed by the nature of the Repository he himself requires, and they should therefore be classified again under the Headings *General* and *Special*, the latter including works on the particular needs of Provincial or other small Archive Repositories.

(ii) *Materials of Archives.* Works consist mainly of scientific investigation into the chemical qualities of *Ink*, *Leather*, &c., and should be classified under these heads. A further division may be made between investigations into *Modern* and into *Ancient* materials. The number of the latter will, it may be hoped, be increased in the future: works on Modern Materials will include books on Office Routine which deal with the forms of Registers, Indexing Systems, and so forth.

(iii) *Custody, Arrangement and Classification.* This is mostly a matter of cross reference to the General Books in (*a*) above. Modern Works on Library Classification have little to do with the Archivist, because he is governed by the special considerations produced by the nature of the Archives, not by subject interests.

(iv) *Publication and Printing.* It may be desirable again, for comparative purposes, to classify under countries: and possibly within these the peculiar needs of divers publishing Bodies or Societies [1] might supply subdivisions.

§ 2. Archive Sources. (Printed Guides.)

(*a*) *Summary Guides.* These are few; and written generally in the interests of the History of a Particular Country; by which they may be classified. They are sometimes useful as giving an *aperçu* of widely different classes and *Dépôts* of Archives.

(*b*) *Detailed Guides.* These naturally fall into a classification by Archive Repositories. They may therefore be divided first into

(i) *General*, which will be classified again by countries, and within that classification by *Dépôts* [2] of Archives.

(ii) *Particular*, i. e. applying to that Country, and those classes of Archives in it, in which the Archivist concerned is most interested.

This division is most important; because in the case of any but the most modern Archives it may safely be laid down that the Archivist will not be able to dispense with any book in which the condition and location of his Archives at any time are established by a contemporary statement. Thus in App. V (i) of the present work Inventories and Guides [3] dating from 1323 practically to the present day are used to settle archive questions in connexion with the English Records of the Exchequer of Receipt.

[1] The distinction, for example, between the needs of the Selden Society (Legal Interest) and a County Society in England publishing in the interests of Local History. See however Appendix VI.

[2] Such as the Departmental, National and other Archives in France with their appropriate *Inventaires sommaires.* It will be noticed that the *General* class includes Foreign Archives and any home ones which do not closely interest the Archivist concerned.

[3] It may be convenient to summarize such Authorities here: they are—

Official. Inventories of all periods (published in Palgrave's *Antient Inventories*); Reports from Lords Committees (18th Cent.), Select Committees of the House of Commons (19th Cent.), Record Commission (1800–37), Public Record Office (from 1840), Commission on Public Records (1910); Thomas's and Bird's Official *Guides*; *Journals* of both Houses of Parliament; *Sessional Papers* of the same; and *Statutes.* Other Committees' and Commissions' Reports might be quoted in connexion with other Archives in England such as the 1902 Committee on Local Records.

Private. Works such as Fanshawe's *Practice of the Exchequer Court* (1658) from the seventeenth century onwards.

In making a Bibliography the Archivist must distinguish carefully between

[1] Guides, &c., compiled by those who stood in the relation of Archivist to the documents in question: we may call this the *Official class.*

[2] Those compiled for some other reason, generally Historical—*the Private or un-Official class.*

§ 3. Archive Making. (Administrative History.)

(*a*) *In the Past.* The Archivist's object being to collect together works showing the Administrative Machinery behind his Archives, an understanding of which is the key to their comprehension, the General Section may be quickly dismissed.

(i) *General*: including summary works only, arranged under Countries.

(ii) *Particular*: in the same meaning as in § 2. This may be studied in detail along two lines:

[1] *Administrative Histories.* Even in the case of the more important public or semi-public Administrations in England there is practically no summary work,[1] and detailed ones, mostly in the form of Articles, are scattered over Reviews, Transactions of Societies, and Introductions to Texts. However, whatever the available quantity may be for any given class of Archives, their classification must once again be strictly according to the Divisions of the Administrations (and Archives) concerned and the internal arrangement of these.[2]

[2] *Lists of Administrators.* These are most important for the Archivist's work in dating, identifying and interpreting. They may be divided into first a *General* and then a *Detailed* Class: the latter being classified in the same way as the Histories in [1] above.

(*b*) *Archive-making in the Future.* This takes us on to the purely Modern Administration, which must not be omitted; because the practical Archivist will need to know something of the character of the Archives he is likely to receive as well as of those he possesses. We may omit, however, the *General* Division

[1] See however Part I, § 1, of this work.

[2] Thus Administrations in England would be divided up as is done in Appendix I above into *Public* (represented, *qua* Archives, by the Public Record Office), *Local*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Private* and so forth: each of these may be divided again into Archive Groups (the *Public*, for example, into *Chancery*, *Exchequer*, *Admiralty*, *Home Office* and so forth), and these again, if necessary, into their component classes.

here. Touching the *Particular* one it is to be noted that Archive-making is becoming, in all countries, increasingly a matter of legal obligation. On the other hand, the use of Administrative History as a key to the understanding of Archives still persists. Classification therefore may here be under :

(i) Current Legislation affecting the keeping (or the discarding [1]) of Archives, Public, Local or Private.

(ii) Any works of reference descriptive of the scope of Administration by Public or semi-Public Departments, Institutions, Companies and so forth.

(iii) Year-books and the like relating to the personnel of such bodies.

The question of the Materials of Modern Archives has already been dealt with in § 1 (*b*) (ii) above.

§ 4. Archives Printed.

It should be one of the first cares of the Archivist to find out which of his own Archives have been printed, to keep a complete list of such Archives and Publications, and to obtain copies of as many as possible.[2] But all Archives printed have a certain interest.

(i) *General.*[3] As a rule it will not be necessary to do more than exemplify or summarize the types of work published : the arrangement will naturally be under Countries and within that under Archive *Dépôts*, and, if necessary, Groups.

(ii) *Particular.*[3] The question of the arrangement of these is very important. Three points have to be carefully brought out in addition to the usual bibliographical items :

[1] The distinction between the *Full Transcript* ; the *Full Translation* ; the *lengthy Abstract* (generally called a Calendar in England) ; *Extracts* ; the *Descriptive Index* or *Repertory* ; the *Index* plain and simple (of persons, places, or subjects) ; the *Inventory* or *Summary Description* ; and the *Full* (Shelf) *List.*

[2] The distinction between the different Persons or Bodies responsible for the books and in particular their *Private* or *Official* character.[4]

[1] Cp. the Act which abolished the necessity for long title in England and so threw on the world large masses of private deeds relating to land tenure which have no longer any practical value.

[2] Cp. Part II, § 9, of this work.

[3] The words are used in the same senses as in § 2 above.

[4] Cp. above § 2 (*b*). The Public Records quoted in this work have been dealt with for the purposes of Publication by the Record Commission (1800–37) ; by

[3] The arrangement of the books must follow that of the Administrative (and Archive) Divisions; as in §§ 2 (*b*) and 3 (*a*) above.

[3] must govern the main arrangement of the Bibliography[1] because the Books are required primarily as Reference Works in connexion with the Archives. [1] and [2] will supply, as it were, extra columns of information in the Bibliography or Catalogue.

§ 5. Archives in Use. (Elucidation and Interpretation.)

(*a*) *General Works of Reference.* We have already excluded special subjects—the Bibliography might otherwise take all knowledge for its province: but a certain number of works will be needed in the nature of Encyclopaedias; Historical Bibliographies; General Indexes to Historical Periodicals and the Publications of Learned Societies; and Subject Catalogues of large Library Collections; all being chosen in direct connexion with the interests of the Archivist concerned.

(*b*) *Works directly elucidatory of Archives.* These fall conveniently into the following classification:

(i) *Biography and Personal History.* This is little more than an extension, in directions governed by the special needs of the Archivist, of the Lists of Persons connected with Administration mentioned under § 3 (*a*) (ii) above.

(ii) *Chronology.* This includes:

[1] *Chronology proper.* (Perpetual Calendars, Lists of Saints' Days, Regnal Years, Law Terms, and so forth.)

[2] Works giving outlines of *History* and *Dates.*

(iii) *Diplomatic.* This science is not very susceptible of extension to periods other than medieval, owing to the decrease (particularly in modern times) of the importance of *Form.* The class may however contain Formula or Precedent Books.

(iv) *Languages.* These again are governed by the special needs of the Archivist. The important thing is that he should provide himself with

[1] the best possible Modern (in the case of Latin, Classical) Dictionaries.

the Record Office in Appendices to Deputy Keepers' Reports, in Calendars (including Transcripts and Abstracts), in Lists and Indexes and in the Chronicles Series; by various Public Committees and Commissions; by Public Departments; by Private enterprise printing in a general historical interest; and by private persons and Societies in various special interests.

[1] Publishers' Series, for example, and Authors' or Editors' names, are purely secondary considerations.

[2] Dictionaries of obsolete words, and particularly, if possible, Dictionaries published at about the date at which his Archives were written.

(v) *Palaeography.* The remarks made with regard to *Diplomatic* above apply here, but not to the same extent: in England, at any rate, medieval or early post-medieval 'Secretary' forms continued till a very late date. There is however a dearth of works on the subject.[1] Facsimiles should not be neglected.

(vi) *Sigillography and Kindred Studies.* This is again of comparatively limited interest. The class includes naturally works on *Heraldry* and on *Arms* borne by Families; and Seal Catalogues.

(vii) *Topography.* Here again emphasis should be laid on the importance of Maps and Topographical Works of the same period as the Archives. In the case of collections containing early documents, where spelling is unusual, parallel volumes published from other Archives, containing identifications of place-names, are valuable.

* * * * * * *

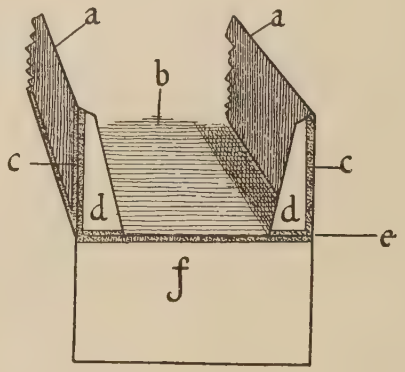
None of these classes require special treatment in the matter of bibliographical arrangement. This is, in fact, by its nature the one division of the Bibliography susceptible of an ordinary classification by subjects.

[1] There is a slight preliminary sketch of the subject in the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society for 1915 (London: 1916); and a further sketch is to be published in the same Society's *Transactions* for 1922.

APPENDIX III

(i)

Sketch of a Box to hold Documents

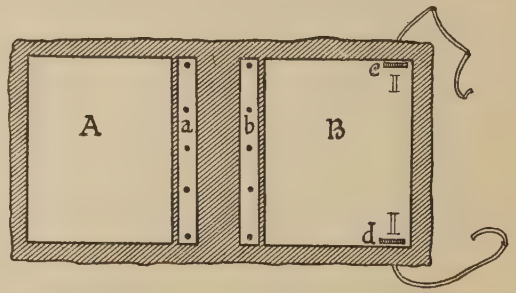


Portion of box, shown open, from the front
a. Side walls of box
b. Bottom of box, inside
c. Cloth hinge
d. Corners of front wall of box: remainder cut away
e. Cloth hinge to false front
f. False front of box, dropped
The lid, which is hinged to the back wall, is not shown

(ii)

Sketch of Proposed File for Binding Documents

Showing position of mill-boards (white) before the binding cloth (shaded) is turned in and pasted down. After this has been done, end-papers would, of course, be added in the usual way.



Hinging space between A and a, b and B: and back space between a and b. In manufacture these should be strengthened by further strips of cloth pasted over them inside.

Holes are shown in a and b through which the binding cord would be laced. These could either be punched ready in the cases or simply pierced with an awl going through both case and guards of documents at time of binding.

The dust flap should be fastened along the top edge of B, inside; the securing tape, on the other side of the same near the top and bottom of the right hand (outer) edge, or laced through the board as shown.

Where the documents are particularly thick (e.g. owing to the presence of seals) extra paper or cardboard should be inserted between the guards and strips of wood (c and d) glued to the inside of one of the boards to prevent over-pressure when the file is tied up.

APPENDIX IV

EXAMPLES OF RULES FOR AN ARCHIVE REPAIRING DEPARTMENT

NOTE.—*These are only meant to serve as specimens, though they are all Rules which have been found useful in practice. Local circumstances will naturally cause modification in any code.*

They are not, of course, Rules for Repairing; but only Rules for the handling of Archives in a Repairing Department.

GENERAL RULES

Registration. A detailed Register is to be kept, under dates,[1] of all repairing work as it is put in hand.

Overhaul. Every document that comes into the Repairing Room should have a general overhaul. If considerably more repair than that for which it was sent is found necessary this should be reported.

The test of whether repair is essential is whether there is any likelihood of pieces of the document being lost or obliterated: such repairs should be taken in hand without delay. If the document forms part of the contents of a bundle or box the whole bundle or box should as a rule be overhauled.

Covers. No document should go back from the Repairing Room with unsound covers: rolls, for instance, should all have a buckram cover, with tape.

Labels. Every document (or bundle, volume, file, &c.) which goes through the Repairing Rooms should have one of the 'standard'[2] labels, which will be supplied when it is given out to the repairer;[3] unless contrary instructions are given.

If it already has this type of label the same one must be used again. If this cannot be done a duplicate of the old one must be prepared and marked *Copy*.

[1] It is advisable in practice to keep an index of this Register arranged under documentary classes.

[2] See the rules with regard to *Labels and References*, below.

[3] This is to ensure correct *stamping*: see the rule on that subject, below.

Leaf or Membrane Number. Every document repaired must have its leaves or membranes numbered with the blue [1] stamped numbering unless other instructions are given.

Old Writing. Old writing, no matter what it is (for example, even if it is part of the binding), must always be preserved.

Old Covers. Old covers should always be used, if possible, as part of new ones: if this cannot be done, any writing or marking on them should be preserved: in special cases instruction will be given for the whole cover to be preserved.

Old Paper or Parchment. All old paper or parchment forming part of the document is to be preserved even if it is blank.

Sewing. New sewing, when it replaces old, should if possible be through the old holes.

Fastenings. Metal clips and pins are always to be replaced by stitching; which in the case of paper documents must be through a small piece of folded cloth.

Folds in Documents. Where these are necessary documents should be flattened in the Repairing Rooms and re-folded in new places.

Seals. These are to be reported for special treatment.

Repairers' Notes. Documents may be numbered through for convenience with black pencil. No other marking on documents is allowed.

On the other hand, anything unusual which has to be altered during repair should be noted up on the guard or on a piece of paper attached. Special printed labels [2] will be provided for pasting into *original* volumes when they are rebound or sewing on to *original* files, to show the state in which they were found.

Nothing which shows the state of the document before repair should be destroyed without a note being made.

Guards. These should be generally about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, to allow of writing.

[1] The colour is, of course, a purely local regulation.

[2] A local arrangement: in small collections they would be replaced by written notes.

Binding and Rebacking

Open Cases. Where the binding is sound (i. e. where it will hold the volume together) but is not strong enough to protect the edges of pages, &c., on the shelves, it should be simply cleaned and repaired and the volume should be put in an 'open case'[1]: this particularly applies to old vellum-bound books.

Repairs. All books should be gone through for necessary repairs before they are taken in hand for binding.

Rebacking. Rebacking should always be preferred to rebinding; provided that the sewing is good and the boards sound and large enough.

Boards. New boards should always extend at least $\frac{1}{4}$ inch clear beyond the lower edge of the papers, &c., bound: other edges as usual.

Sewing. Old sewing, strengthened with linen backing if necessary, is always to be used in preference to new sewing: if new sewing is used it should follow the lines of the old as closely as possible.

Old Covers. Stamps, Labels, and any written or otherwise marked part of old bindings if they cannot be worked into the new binding are always (unless contrary instructions are given) to be cut out and pasted inside the front cover.

End Papers. The free part of old end papers is always to be preserved and inserted: the part stuck down will be preserved only when marked with writing, &c.

Numbering.[2] Where a book is one of a series Reference numbers should form part of the tooling on the back: so that paper labels may not be necessary. Where paper labels have to be used care should be taken that all are of the same type and that a book is not sent back after repair with dirty or torn labels.

Seals

Seals appended (by a string or tab). When they are of any size these seals are to have pads tied loosely over them with tape. The pads are

[1] A convenient form of this, easily and quickly made, consists of two boards, of the exact width and height of the book, fastened together, by a piece of stout binding cloth, at a distance whose width is the book's thickness. The book stands between the boards on the cloth: one tape passes round the whole horizontally and another connects the boards over the top edge of the book; the knots of the tapes coming over the edges of the book.

[2] See the rules regarding *Labels*, below.

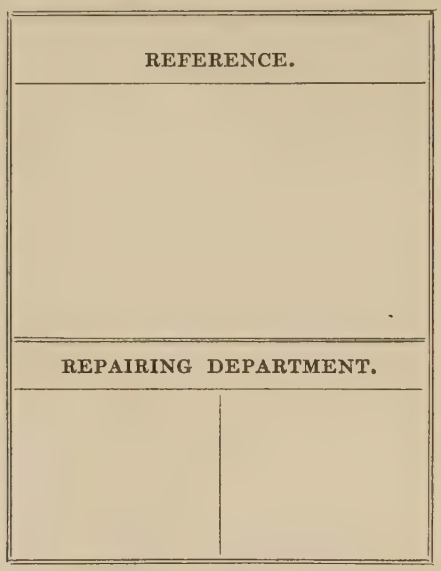
to be of cotton-wool wrapped in grease-proof tissue paper.[1]

When there are small seals in files special file boards to prevent crushing are to be used (mill board slips at end of lower file board [2]).

Seals affixed (to the face of the document). When these are in a file or volume they will be protected generally by the insertion of a pad or millboard with a hole in it for the seal: the millboard or pad to be on a guard and bound in to the volume.

Labels and References

The Standard Labels. There will be two standard types of label, one on linen-backed paper, one on plain paper, printed thus: [3]



Labelling of Books and of Files with Continuous Backs. These will have: (1) tooled or pasted paper numbers, &c., on back: tooled for preference.

(2) 'standard' paper label pasted inside front cover.

N.B.—Place these labels slightly nearer to the top than to the bottom edge.

[1] So as to use the softness of the 'wool' while neutralizing its absorbent qualities. A small cardboard box (with loose lid and with one side cut away to admit the tab) may be added over the pads where possible: the tab (not the seal) being fastened down in it with a stitch.

[2] See Appendix III (ii). [3] The particular form is, of course, a local arrangement.

Labelling of Ordinary File Boards. These will have : (1) reference printed or written on cloth slip on back.
(2) 'standard' paper label pasted in as above.

Labelling of Rolls. These will have the 'standard' linen-backed label sewn on.

Labelling of Boxes. These will have the 'standard' paper label pasted on.

Labelling of Parcels. These will have the 'standard' linen-backed label eyeletted and tied on.

N.B.—Separate documents inside Boxes or Parcels may have individual labels of any type which is found convenient sewn on.

References. Every reference consists of three parts :
(1) the Archive Group,
for example *Chancery, Special Collections, Colonial Office* ;
(2) the Class,
for example *Close Rolls :* sometimes the Class is simply a number as in the case of the *Colonial Office* ;
(3) reference numbers of the documents.
These three parts should always be given in the above order.

References on Labels. The first two (Archive Group and Class) should be in red and the third in black.[1]

References on Backs of Books or Files. The first two should be placed near the top and the third at the foot. If they are paper labels they should be in red and black [1] as above.

Stamping

General Note. The Repairing Department is responsible for seeing that the stamps are clean and that there is a sufficient supply of pads and ink : also for issuing stamps when necessary together with pads and rubbers for stamping on : and for seeing that every one who stamps knows how the stamp should be used, how ink should be put on the pad, &c.

Office Stamp. Black ink [2] only is to be used with this.
The stamp should be used on the back of the written part of a document if possible ; or else in the margin practically touching the writing.

[1] The colours are a matter of local arrangement.
[2] The colour is, of course, a purely local regulation.

Every document in a loose bundle, file, or made-up volume should be stamped.

In the case of an original volume or roll only occasional pages or membranes need be stamped.

Accession Numbers. These will be stamped in black [1] on the inside of the front cover of a book or file, on the cover of a roll, and on the back of a loose document. This does not apply to leaf or membrane numeration; for which see below.

Numbering of Leaves or Membranes. This will be done with the Numerator stamp only.

Blue [1] ink will be used only.

Numbering will be by folio not by page: that is to say, that the front of every leaf will be numbered.

Numbering, except in special cases, will be straight through from beginning to end: whether the object to be numbered is an original book, a volume made up of separate documents, a file, a roll, or a bundle of loose papers or parchments.

Every original leaf or membrane is to be numbered even if it is blank; but 'end papers' in volumes will be treated as part of the cover and not numbered.

Numbering of Insertions. When an extra leaf or membrane has been inserted in an original volume or file or sewn on to the membrane of a roll, or when one has been inserted after binding in a made-up volume or file, it will be given the same number as the leaf or membrane preceding it or to which it is attached: this will then have A added to its number in blue [1] ink and the inserted leaves or membranes will have B, C, D, &c.

Alteration of Numbering. This numbering is intended to be permanent; but if it becomes necessary at any time to alter it the old numbers must be struck through in blue [1] ink. Other old numbers should be left as they are since they cannot be confused with the blue numeration.

Repairing (Date) Stamp. When a document (or bundle, file, &c.) is given out for repair a standard type label will be stamped with the date in blue [1] and issued with it: unless it has already one of these labels or for some particular reason it is not desired to give it the new one; in which case the date will be stamped on the existing label.

[1] The colour is, of course, a purely local regulation.

Reference Numbers. These will *not* be stamped or written on the document but on a label attached to it.

Documents which have been out of custody. These will be stamped with the special stamp in scarlet [1]; on the front if a single document, and on the label of a book, file, or roll where the whole has been out of custody.

APPENDIX V

ILLUSTRATIONS AND CHARTS

We have attempted in this Appendix to supply illustration of a number of points which have been dealt with in the text. One Archive Group—the *Exchequer of Receipt*, whose Archives extend from the twelfth century to 1834—has been chosen because of its comparative simplicity—now—and because of its peculiar aptitude for the purpose. Its Archives—none of them much and the bulk of them not at all explored up to the present, although they include series of the first importance for historians of all periods—afford as fine examples as could be obtained anywhere of the use of Administrative History as a key to the arrangement and comprehension of Archives, of the explanatory notes required in an Archive Inventory,[2] and (most important of all) of the misadventures to which Archives in all ages and countries are liable, especially during the processes of sorting and classification.

Now the questions of *Listing*, *Arrangement*, and *Classification* form the very corner-stone of Archive Science; no trouble is too great to get them truly settled. Yet it is, and probably always will be, a popular belief that sorting, listing, and indexing are mechanical processes which any one can with little or no preparation easily master; it is a tradition that a prominent politician once seriously suggested that the whole of the legal and other archives of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England might be arranged on a system based on the requirements of persons interested in the life of Shakespeare by sorters imported from the General Post Office. This is, no doubt, an extreme case; but the fact remains that the dangers attendant on anything but the most carefully directed system of classification and the fact that damage done in half an hour may require months of re-

[1] The colour is, of course, a purely local arrangement.

[2] See above, Part II, § 6 (*y*).

adjustment or even turn out to be irreparable, are things which it has proved in the past extraordinarily difficult for Archivists and others to see.

It is mainly for this reason that we have set down some account of what past generations (some of them not very far back) did with the Archives of the *Receipt*. Here we may see examples of nearly all the archive mistakes that have ever been made not only in ancient but in modern times; indeed, Archivists in America and those interested in the fate of Local Records produced under pressure of the war in England will find here close parallels to observations they may themselves make in the course of their work. The crowding out of the more ancient archives in a collection in order to make room for new ones, and their bestowal in unsuitable places; the rapid disappearance of traditional knowledge of the meaning and value of anything except current series; the hasty arrangement of newly-discovered archive treasures after a fashion which temporarily satisfies the Historian of the day, at the cost of confusion and loss to the Archives themselves and ultimately to all students—all these are troubles which are liable to occur at any time, which are occurring now in some places. In the case of the *Exchequer of Receipt*, though much of the damage occurred so late as in the nineteenth century, we are yet sufficiently far away from it now to judge of its effects.

(i) Archive History of the Exchequer of Receipt.

(*a*) *Origin, Functions and earliest Archives.* This Department, as its name implies, was charged with the simplest of financial functions, the taking in and issuing of the King's Treasure. The Receipt when it took in money gave a portion (the stock) of a wooden tally to the person who had paid, keeping the other part (the foil) itself; and when it paid out it kept the King's writ which had authorized the payment. These foils and *brevia* were its archives, and could be produced for the satisfaction either of itself or of the *Scaccarium* at times of audit.[1]

(*b*) *The Receipt Roll.* The requirements of the scribes of the Pipe Roll (the main record of the *Scaccarium*), and later their own convenience, led the officials of the Receipt gradually to institute a Receipt Roll[2] upon which they copied the inscriptions from their tallies.

[1] For the early history of the Exchequer and the Receipt see the Introduction to the Oxford edition of the *Dialogus* (by Messrs. Hughes, Crump and Johnson); Dr. R. L. Poole's *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*; the article on *Exchequer Tallies* in *Archaeologia* (vol. 62), and an article on the *Financial Records of the Reign of King John* in the Royal Historical Society's *Magna Carta Commemoration* volume.

[2] The early forms of this roll are dealt with in an article on *Records of Receipts*

Beginning with a very simple and partial roll modelled on Pipe Roll precedents, such as one which has survived belonging to the year 1185[1], they reached a fixed form,[2] in which receipts are arranged under counties, the total sum of each of these being cast up at the foot, in 4 Henry III. The Receipt Roll is now purely a document made for the benefit of the Officials of the Receipt; and in consequence it is speedily found (21 Henry III) that a more convenient form is that of a roll on which tallies are entered in single column in chronological order as they are made out, counties being added in the margin.[3]

(*c*) *The Liberate Roll.* Meanwhile the usefulness of an enrolment of some or all of the other class of originals preserved in the department, the writs ordering issue from the Treasury (*brevia de liberate*), had also been adopted, giving us the Exchequer series of *Liberate Rolls*. So closely were the two operations of Receipt and Issue connected that for a time these *Liberate Rolls* were sewn up with the *Receipt Rolls*, as in the first surviving example.[4] These rolls, under a great variety of titles, show also a certain variety of form, and we may even get two for a single period which are not exactly the same, one perhaps including writs for recurring payments such as salaries (*brevia currentia* or *patentia*), while others contain only those which have been fully paid off (*brevia persoluta*). The latter form finally triumphs.[5]

(*d*) *The Issue Roll.* Concurrently with the *Liberate Roll* there arose a simplified form of it in which the formal parts of the writ were omitted, leaving only the name of the payee, cause of payment, and amount. The first of these to survive is a single-columned roll of 25 Henry III,[6] arranged chronologically and with day dates sometimes given. This form continued till 33 Edward I,[7] but in addition to it, to meet the case where payments on a single large writ were spread over a long time, there arose a double-columned form in which after an entry of the name of a payee space was left for the addition of further instalments: as the single-columned roll followed the contemporary form of Liberate in including only those writs which were *persoluta*, it will be seen that the same payments might appear in the double-columned roll of one term and the single-columned one of the next. This double-columned form, which begins by being no more than a draft in 38 Henry III,[8] was apparently found more convenient at a time when detailed expenditure

from the English Jewry in the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, viii, p. 19; from which the present description is mainly taken.

[1] Published in facsimile by the London School of Economics (ed. Hall).

[2] *Receipt Rolls*, 3. [3] *Ibid.* 12. [4] *Ibid.* 3.

[5] We have a set from 1 to 19 Edward I, and another beginning 30 Edward I.

[6] *Issue Rolls*, 1. [7] *Ibid.* 127.

[8] *Ibid.* 8. It reaches a more regular form about 3 Edward I (*Issue Rolls*, 26) and a final one by a gradual improvement on this.

was largely in the hands of the wardrobe:[1] it became for a time the only roll kept, till quite suddenly (19 Edward II) a single-columned roll,[2] arranged like the receipt roll under day, dates, and months, completely ousted it.

(*e*) *Differentiations.* We have thus by the beginning of the reign of Edward I, and the end of that of Edward II respectively, fully developed forms of *Receipt Roll* and *Issue Roll* at the Receipt. Meanwhile the possibility of differentiation of particular classes of entry had been illustrated from time to time by such classes as those of the Special *Jewish Receipt Rolls*, *Taxation Receipt Rolls*, and so forth.[3]

(*f*) *The Triplicate Arrangement.* A more striking development was that of the increase in the number of copies made. Early in the reign of Edward I, when the *Receipt Roll* was established in its final form while the *Issue Roll* was still being made up in two forms simultaneously, traces appear of an arrangement by which each of these rolls was made up at least in duplicate; so that we get in each of the two Exchequer terms four *Issue* and two *Receipt Rolls*—twelve in all in the year. The Receipt was presided over from the earliest times by the Treasurer and the two Chamberlains or their deputies (known as the Chamberlains of the Receipt), and the names of these Chamberlains are now associated with the various rolls. Either this is a fragmentary survival of, or it soon gave way to, a system of triplicate rolls,[4] one for each of the three officials we have mentioned, whose name written at the head or on the back generally distinguishes his roll. Any additional rolls there might be (Jewish ones,[5] for instance) were made in the same extravagant

[1] Cp. Tout, vol. ii, chapters vii and viii.

[2] *Issue Rolls*, 218. A fine specimen of a roll of this kind of 44 Edward III was printed in an English translation by F. Devon (Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham . . . London, 1835): Devon also published two volumes of selections from medieval and seventeenth-century Issue Rolls. It is perhaps worth noticing that the second of the two rolls printed by him is not Brantingham's but belonged to one of the Chamberlains: also that it begins in the year 1369 and should come first—the Exchequer year of Edward III started before the regnal year.

[3] The nature of Issue Rolls did not lend itself so readily to this process in medieval times, but there are a few examples of rolls of ear-marked issues (e.g. *Issue Rolls*, Nos. 1310 to 1315): after the institution of Exchequer Annuities, however, in the reign of William III, large numbers of special *Issue Rolls* had to be made (*Issue Rolls* 1330 to 1692), to the annoyance of the Clerk of the Pells (see his report, cited below, to the Special Committee of 1800). The Special Taxation *Receipt Rolls* run from 19 Edward I to 11 Edward III (*Receipt Rolls*, Nos. 1611 to 1745).

[4] There are triplicate rolls for the Easter term of 22 Edward I (*Issue Rolls* 87 to 89 and *Receipt Rolls* 129 to 131): and we learn by a note on a *Receipt Roll* (No. 137) that in 23 Edward I there were three rolls, one for the Baron of the Exchequer who was then representing the Treasurer and two *in nomine Camerariorum.*

[5] These run from 14 John to 23 Edward I, among the Archives of the Receipt,

quantities. Except for the institution for a short time of a fourth *Issue Roll*[1] (which may indicate the emergence into fuller authority of the Treasurer's Clerk, afterwards a most important official), the triplicate, though not, as we shall see, always kept up, remains for nearly three centuries the accepted form.

(*g*) *Further Developments.* A further development resulted from the wide development of the use of Tallies for the purpose of Assignments.[2] Outwardly this affected our *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* by the notes,[3] cancellations, and so forth which it caused in them. It also gave new importance to the Tellers (*Numeratores*),[4] who were concerned with the actual handling of money, and to a class of documents the first set of which were probably,[5] and the second certainly, made by those officials. These are the *Jornalia Rolls* (21 Edward I to 10 Edward II), giving a daily and weekly 'state of the Treasury' and balances;[6] and a hundred years later the similar Tellers' Rolls and Tellers' Books (Henry IV to Elizabeth), which probably mark the beginning of the rise of those officials to the importance which they finally enjoyed under the reforms of Henry VII.

(*h*) *Final Form.* With the Original Tallies[7] and Original Writs[8] on files, the *Receipt Rolls* (ordinary and supplementary), the *Liberate* and *Issue Rolls*, the *Jornalia* and *Tellers' Rolls*, Rolls of *Tallie Innovate*[9]

but there are others belonging to the same series among those of the *Exchequer, King's Remembrancer's*, and *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's* department: see the article on this subject, quoted above.

[1] Called *Protecolla of the Treasurer*: 28 to 38 Edward III (*Issue Rolls*, Nos. 1289 to 1304).

[2] Cf. *Archaeologia*, loc. cit.; and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, xxv, p. 34.

[3] Reflecting what are known as the *pro* and *sol* variations of tallies.

[4] These officials are not mentioned in the *Dialogus*: Madox quotes a reference to them in 9 Henry III (Exchequer, Chap. xxiv, Section 14).

[5] One or two bear an ascription to one or other of the Chamberlains and they appear to be kept normally in triplicate; but their close connexion with the Tellers is evidenced by a note in one of them (E. 405/1/15), *Hic obiit Elyas de Aylesbir' qui fuit numerator Recepte.*

[6] The balances are given by a smaller roll attached to it, called the *Billa Remanentis.*

[7] Nearly all of these were deliberately destroyed in 1834, when the 'immoderate burning' of them in the stoves used to heat the House of Lords caused the burning of the Houses of Parliament. A few hundreds (practically all returned stocks) which had somehow been stored in the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster have been discovered in recent years (*Archaeologia*, loc. cit.).

[8] A fragmentary series survives, including the Henry II writ printed by Madox (*History of the Exchequer*, ch. x, section 13, note): the series contains a few of the original files.

[9] The procedure in connexion with lost tallies dates from the Statute of Rhuddlan, 14 Edward I: cf. Ryley, *Pleadings in Parliament*, p. 450.

(tallies which for any reason had to be renewed), and a certain amount of the usual *Miscellanea*, we have the whole body of the medieval Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt. As they stand in this arrangement and in their present order at the Public Record Office they are, on the surface at any rate, a simple matter enough. Let us continue their history a little further.

(*i*) *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* The *Issue Rolls*, dwindling in importance as payments out of the Exchequer became more and more a matter of assignments by Tally (figuring therefore on the so-called *Receipt Roll*), appear to have ceased altogether during the reign of Edward IV. The *Receipt Roll* never lapsed, and up to about the tenth year of Elizabeth retained, though irregularly, some traces of the Triplicate arrangement. Fanshawe, himself an Exchequer Official, writing in that period, tells us [1] 'the Comptrollers [2] of the Pell [3] be the two Chamberlains' Clarks that should either of them keep a controlment of the Pell . . . which now here be sometimes kept, and sometimes not. . . . They were wont also in ancient time, either of them to keep a like controllment of the sayd Pell of Issues . . . which these many years was not kept by them'. The same author tells us [4] that the Clerk of the Pells (who represents the Treasurer's Clerk of earlier times) 'keepeth the Pelle in Parchment, called Pellis Recepti wherein he entreth every Tellers . . . parchment Bill . . . which (as I learn) now is made in a paper book and hath been begun but of late days to keep the Pelle fair and from razing'; and again [5] 'he also in old time kept . . . the *Pellis Exitus* which of late was received [6] to be kept by him . . . and thought very necessary but now since (as I learn) it is layd down again as thought not so necessary'. The Tellers' Bill is merely an extra stage in the production of the Tally [7] and the Paper Book referred to the *Receipt Book* which duplicates the Receipt Roll; and the statement with regard to the Issue Roll is confirmed by certain papers in the *Miscellanea* of the Receipt [8] and others in the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum,[9] and by the Rolls themselves.

[1] Sir T. F., *The Practice of the Exchequer Court* . . . (London, 1658), pp. 112, 113. The book was written much earlier than it was printed.

[2] i. e. Keepers of the Counter Rolls.

[3] i. e. the *Receipt Roll*. The word *Pellis* (skin) is used both of this (*Pellis Recepte*) and the *Issue Roll* (*Pellis Exitus*); whence the name Clerk of the Pells. After the medieval period the word is used particularly to distinguish the parchment rolls of the older administration from the paper books of the new.

[4] Sir T. F., *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

[6] Apparently a printer's error for 'revived'.

[7] See an account of seventeenth-century procedure in *L.T.R. Miscellaneous Books*, 117, cited in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, loc. cit.

[8] E. 407/71. These papers are referred to again below.

[9] Especially in Lansdowne MSS., 151 (f. 103) and 171 (ff. 308 and 353–8).

The series was revived first for a few years in 9 Elizabeth, and then more permanently in 39 Elizabeth. After this we have a more or less continuous single series of both Receipt and Issue Rolls up to modern times, kept by the Clerk of the Pells. This official, now independent, represented originally, as we have seen, the Treasurer: the two Chamberlains of the Receipt disappear after the medieval period from the functions in which we are here interested, except that they retain a (doubtless lucrative) ceremonial part in the most ancient of all, the cutting of the Tallies, until Tallies cease to be in the nineteenth century.

(*j*) *New Classes of Archives at the Receipt.* Henry VII had instituted sweeping reforms at the Exchequer of Receipt: the result of these, and of the even greater changes which followed the putting of the office of Treasurer into Commission (first in 1612 and permanently in 1714), the institution of the Treasury Board, and the final separation of the Treasury from the Exchequer in the time of Charles II,[2] may be seen in many new Archive series at the Exchequer of Receipt: Account Books, Assignment Books, Cash Books, Certificate Books, these and some thirty more distinct series (some of them in duplicate) date all from after the medieval period.

(*k*) *The Clerk of the Pells and the Auditor of the Receipt.* With these later Archives we should here be little concerned, for our purpose is merely to trace the archive history of the earlier classes, which comprehended in medieval times the whole business of the Receipt. The later Archives introduce us, however, to an element of confusion in the shape of a new distinction between the Archives of the Clerk of the Pells, whom we know, and those of a post-medieval official, the Auditor of the Receipt. These two quarrelled for precedence in the sixteenth century and though this quarrel was settled[3] in the end in favour of the Clerk of the Pells, the other official, who represented the old *Scriptor Talliarum* (another Treasurer's clerk), emerged with the definite function of *entering* and *enrolling* many of the proceedings which the Clerk of the Pells *recorded*. The Clerk of the Pells then, after 1597, centred in himself the whole of the old functions which originally he shared with the two Chamberlains' Deputies; but shared the newer functions with the Auditor: the older Archives therefore are at first single, then triplicate, and later single again; while the newer ones are in many cases duplicate throughout.

(*l*) *The Receipt Archives in the Nineteenth Century.* Of all this the early nineteenth century knew nothing; and the student who

[1] The abolition of the old system was delayed until the then holders of these two offices should die or retire from them (see *Archaeologia*, loc. cit.). For the work of the Chamberlains at the seventeenth century 'Tally Court', see *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, loc. cit.

[2] See Royal Commission, *Second Report* I, p. 25, and the authorities there quoted.

[3] By a decision of Lord Burleigh, see below, paragraph (*q*), footnote.

endeavoured about 1860, when the ancient Archives of the Receipt were thrown open to inspection, to find his way about these most important collections by way of the available lists was involved in an amazing labyrinth. To begin with, there were not only the most tantalizing gaps, extending over perhaps a number of years, but these would be emphasized from time to time by the discovery that other years seemed to possess a plethora of rolls. These, when examined, might prove to be wrongly described—it was by no means unusual for the ascription to be a century or so out in date—or they might be duplicates, or fragments; or he might find two rolls each apparently complete and covering to some extent the same period, but beginning or ending at different dates;[1] or the *Receipt Roll* might prove to be an *Issue Roll* or *vice versa*; or he might meet with a roll described as *Receipt* or *Issue* which was really what we know now as a *Tallie Innovate Roll* or *Jornalia*; or in the midst of a fairly continuous series of ordinary *Receipt Rolls* come upon special *Jewish* or *Taxation Rolls*. Worst of all, the rolls, both of *Receipt* and *Issue*, were divided into two classes labelled *Pells* and *Auditors*. Apparently this meant something: if the historian pursued his researches into the later Archives of the Department he would find these labels applied to series which did appear to be distinct sets with a definite relationship. But among the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* they could not be made to show any meaning at all; for sometimes the *Pells* set would include triplicate rolls for a single period for which the *Auditors* set had none, sometimes the position would be reversed, sometimes the Rolls would be divided in one proportion or another between the two; and finally the *Auditors* series ceased altogether, the *Issue Rolls* in the reign of Edward IV and the *Receipt Rolls* in that of Elizabeth. Our student's confusion would be even worse confounded if he delved so deep as to discover cases where rolls had been transferred from *Pells* series to *Auditors* or *vice versa*; for there was no reason that any one could see for these transfers. In fine the tangle seemed hopeless; and yet until it was unravelled no one could be sure that he was appreciating properly the value of the Rolls he used.

If he had the fortune to light on a rather scarce book, that of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, which we have already quoted, the inquirer might gain a gleam of light from that author's statement that the two Chamberlains' clerks anciently acted as Controllers to the Clerk of the Pells. 'Here', he might say, 'is the origin of the *Pells* class: but what of the *Auditors*? and why does Fanshawe apparently refer to a triplicate series whereas I am confronted by a duplicate one? and anyhow,

[1] When a new Deputy Chamberlain or Treasurer took up his duties it was customary for him to begin a new roll.

where has the duplicate one come from ? or where has the triplicate one gone to ? because up to now, in all the Reports that I can find, from 1718 to 1841, I see no trace of anything but a single one ? Moreover, if this division into *Auditors* and *Pells* series is correct, as I suppose it is, why do *Auditor's Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* stop short, while all the rest of the Auditor's records continue up to the nineteenth century ? ' And so forth.

(*m*) *The first attempt at arrangement*: *Westminster, Whitehall, and Somerset House.* To appreciate fully the difficulty of the situation we must glance at the history of our Archives during the period immediately preceding the appearance of this remarkable list. Our imaginary student would probably turn in the first place to Devon's volume of *Issue Rolls*, which incidentally would puzzle him with a seventeenth-century list from the British Museum [1] showing a single set of Receipt Archives at the Pells Office. It would introduce him to the *Report of the Lords Committees*,[2] in which he would find that Madox, the great historian of the Exchequer, had been able to contribute little information as to the Receipt beyond a reference to ' important valuable records, that lie in a sort buried ' ; it would also direct him to the *Report* [3] of the Special Committee of the House of Commons on the Cottonian Library, where again little information is to be obtained. Turning to the ordinary sources for the Archive History of the Public Records (the *Reports* of the Record Commission (1800 to 1837) and of the Special Committees of 1800 and 1837 and later those of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records), he would find that the Controller General, to whom Devon dedicated his book, had possession of the functions and Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt from 1834, when the Statute [4] abolishing the ancient system of that department came into force. The first mention of the modern handling of our Archives, he would discover, is during this period ; when we find Devon himself dealing with them, first at the Office of the Clerk of the Pells in the Brick Tower at Westminster and then at that of the Controller General in Whitehall,

[1] British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, 254 : a seventeenth-century document to which we refer again below. It is curious that Devon, who no doubt used the Record Commission Catalogue of these MSS., did not come across the note on the Receipt by Sir Vincent Skinner (151, f. 103), which would have given him the key to its medieval archive arrangement ; he might also have got a hint from Agarde's *Compendium*, printed by Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars*, II, p. 311, in 1836.

[2] London, 1718.

[3] *Reports from Special Committees to the House of Commons*, vol. i, 1731. Devon quotes this by error as a Report of the *Record Commission*.

[4] The Statute was of 1783 (5 William and Mary) but could come into force only on the death or retirement of certain persons then holding office. The Controller General continued three of the series of Exchequer of Receipt documents in use—all comparatively modern ones. On this practice see above, Part II, § 6 (*q*).

to which they were removed.[1] Devon apparently knew of no division between *Pells* and *Auditors*, but as his lists had disappeared [2] it was rather difficult for the student to know to what rolls he was referring. There remained, it is true, at the end of his Report the table concerning rolls of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I which he had found at the 'Pells' Office; but as this shewed, for example, ten *Issue* and *Liberate Rolls* of the year 19 Edward I, whereas the lists of 1859 could produce only nine,[3] of which three were *Auditors Issue Rolls*, two *Pells Issue Rolls*, and four *Liberate Rolls*, this, if anything, deepened the mystery. Hardly more information was available as to a collection of similar rolls found and cursorily inspected by Devon at Somerset House. These were removed under the superintendence of the Controller General's clerk, Mr. Ashburnham Bulley, but of this the ordinary reader would be likely to know little, since the details survive only in a very obscure place.[4] Even when Mr. Bulley's account is discovered it is misleading, since he apparently counted backwards; describing the rolls as extending *from* the reign of Edward IV, whereas we now know from Devon's list that nearly all the existing rolls subsequent to that date came from the Clerk of the Pells Office.

(*n*) *Removal to the Record Office.* The next person to handle the Rolls after Devon and Bulley was W. H. Black, who in 1841 describes the process of their removal to the Public Record Office.[5] Black evidently knew that he was not dealing with a single series—he speaks of Pells and Counter-Pells [6]—but he has nothing to say about an *Auditors* series of Rolls, though he deals at some length with certain other (genuine) Auditor's Archives which were found in the same vault at Somerset House. Apparently he did little more than sack up the Rolls for removal and deposit them in the Record Office, though he records [7] the transfer of three Rolls of Receipts and ten of Issues from the set found in the 'vaults' (Somerset House) to the set from the Pells Office. Probably he had a shrewd idea that the two represented originally only one collection; but as, once more, no lists of his period survived it is difficult to be certain what his proceedings were. He had, so far as is known, nothing to do with the Rolls after 1842.

[1] Record Commission *Report*, 1837, p. 150; cp. the *Report from the Special Committee to the House of Commons*, 1800, p. 131.

[2] Two copies have since been found, one in the British Museum and one in the Class of *Transcripts* at the Public Record Office.

[3] The missing one has been found ultimately among a class of *Miscellaneous Rolls*.

[4] *Communications between the Treasury and the Comptroller General of the Exchequer* . . . (Sessional Papers, House of Lords, 1840, No. 58).

[5] *D. K.'s Reports*, I and II.

[6] Possibly Agarde's *Compendium*, published by Palgrave in 1836, had introduced him to the phrase.

[7] *D. K.'s Reports*, III, App. i, p. 31.

(*o*) '*Auditors and Pells.*' After this we hear of nothing regarding these Archives in the Deputy Keeper's *Reports* except for some ticketing, until in 1859 [1] we find set out the mysterious *Auditors and Pells* arrangement in full force. A further report two years later tells us that 265 *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls*, removed from the Chapter House at Westminster,[2] have been intercalated in the *Pells* Series; but once more no list remains to make identification of these possible.

It might be argued from the above that the *Pells* set represented the Pells Office rolls *plus* those from the Chapter House, while the *Auditors* rolls were those which came from Somerset House; where indeed they had had for neighbours (as we have seen) certain archives more entitled than themselves to the *Auditors* epithet. The only trouble is that no arithmetic will make the numbers mentioned in the earlier reports fit in with those of the two sets of 1859: an example of this has already been given in the case of the rolls for the year 19 Edward I.

(*p*) *The Results.* In fine, the lists as they stood were incomprehensible besides being extremely inaccurate, and the task of finding out from external evidence what had occurred seemed hopeless. Actually these Archives had to remain for about fifty years, practically useless for any serious work, before time could be found to reconstruct their correct arrangement as it is set out at the beginning of this section. To do this involved a fresh examination into their Archive history so far as it could be traced, the disregarding, as unworkable, of the arrangement they were under, and the making of an individual examination of between three and four thousand rolls. As many were mutilated [3] or had others wrapped up inside them, or were rolled up the wrong way, with their date heading and the name of the Chamberlain or Treasurer's Clerk to whom they had belonged at the innermost end, the task included in numerous cases that of unrolling and re-rolling documents, sometimes thirty yards or more in length; beside the identification and dating of misplaced fragments, and the working out from internal evidence only of the relations in which these rolls had stood to each other and to the general business of their department. Even now that this has been done there remain fragments of which the ascription is hopelessly lost, and other items of damage which can never be repaired.

[1] *Ibid.* XX, App., p. 149.

[2] Possibly these had some relation to certain rolls of Jewish Accounts which are still among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter (Hist. MSS. Commission, *Reports*, i, p. 96).

[3] Cases were not uncommon where two or even three pieces of a single roll appeared under widely different dates, one perhaps among *Pells Receipt Rolls*, one among *Auditors Receipt Rolls*, and one in one of the classes of *Issue Rolls*. At least one incomplete roll is made up of fragments reassembled from five different points.

Obviously much of the blame for this extraordinary chapter of mistakes must rest with those who, although they apparently lacked either time or ability to investigate the rolls themselves, were prepared to sort them into these two absurd classes. Had they left them as they received them their successors would at any rate not have been burdened with the additional task of disproving and undoing this impossible ' arrangement ', before they could begin a rational reconstruction. Had they even been content to label two of the three collections they received ' Pells ' and the other one ' Auditors ', or at least to leave behind them some record of which rolls had come from which place, some excuse might be found for them. But they were not. It is difficult to imagine anything more ridiculous than the solemn transference of a roll, upon no principle which can be discovered, out of one class which has no reason for its existence outside the mind of its creator into another equally meaningless : yet they sorted, transferred and re-transferred ; and as they did so they obliterated nearly all traces behind them. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that many of the rolls not only could be, but had been, intelligently described and reasonably arranged :[1] only to be wantonly dispersed, misdescribed, and misplaced under an ' arrangement ' which practically deprived them of meaning for half a century, and rendered useless all the work which had so far been done upon them.

(*q*) *Earlier confusions.* It is not suggested that the authors of the 1859 arrangement are responsible for all the confusion we see in it ; though for the way in which it was dealt with they alone must take the blame. There was, in fact, a remarkable consensus of ignorance in the opening part of the nineteenth century among the officials of the Receipt (who were still supposed to carry on ' the ancient course of the Exchequer ' as laid down in the *Dialogus*) about the early history of their own Office and Archives. Thus in 1800 the Deputy Chamberlains [2] were not aware that their predecessors had accumulated any Archives other than the standard weights, measures, and coins and possibly a few tallies ; while the Deputy Clerk of the Pells (who mentions a tradition that the establishment of the Clerk of the Pells [3] commenced in the time of Alfred) admits having records from 1715 onwards, but remarks that ' the want of space in the Office wherein the principal duties of the

[1] By Devon : see the citation of his Report above ; from which it is seen that a quite correctly described *Liberate Roll* left that class to reappear as '*Miscellaneous* '. Black, as appears from his Report in 1841, was well aware of the importance of basing further work on Devon's list.

[2] *Report from the Special Committee to the House of Commons*, 1800, p. 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132. It is curious that this official held the clue, if he had known it, to the whole matter : for he was aware of, and mentions (*ibid.*, p. 131), the controversy between the Clerk of the Pells and the Auditor.

Clerk of the Pells are performed has necessarily compelled our predecessors and ourselves when encumbered by the increase of books and the engrossed copies [i.e. the Rolls] hereinbefore described to remove the most antient and useless into the two upper rooms of the tower occupied by the Clerk of the Pells: they are deposited therein, for the most part, without order or method and covered by the lapse of time with dust and dirt. The collections of more than a century, perhaps of two, are in general confusion . . .'; and this with a large proportion of the medieval Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt, from the thirteenth century downwards, lying somewhere on their premises and in their care![1] To this description of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Archive-keeping it seems only right to add for completeness some reference,[2] even at the cost of a digression, to Devon's description of the vault at Somerset House, which he entered by means of a ladder at a place 'which was once a window', and Bulley's representations to the Treasury as to the danger and unpleasantness of inhaling the 'decomposed particles and dust' from documents 'damp, mouldering and dirty', out of a vault 'beneath High Water Mark'.

But to revert to the Officials of the Exchequer of Receipt: the Auditor, it is true, appears by the 1800 Report already quoted to have had some knowledge of his own Archives. He enumerates them fairly accurately in series running mostly from the seventeenth century; but has nothing to say about Rolls.

If we look further back we find that general ignorance of the early history of the Receipt and its archives did not begin in the nineteenth century. The 1731 Report, the 1718 Report, and (most striking of all) Madox in his *History of the Exchequer*, all, as we have seen, shew a like ignorance: and in 1741, after 'methodizing' had been in progress at the Treasury of the Receipt for fourteen years, it was possible in a fairly extensive schedule[3] of the Records kept there to omit all mention of those 'Pelles' of which Agarde tells us[4] and of which, as we know, 265 at least came later to the Record Office from that place. It is not till we get back to the period of Agarde, Fanshawe, Skinner, and Wardour,[5] in the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth

[1] As appears from Devon's First Report and from the seventeenth-century list of Rolls at the Pells Office printed by him in his book from the Lansdowne MSS.

[2] See the Sessional Paper, 1840, No. 58, already cited, above (*m*) note 4.

[3] E. 403/2543 (*Pells Patent Book* 32), p. 540, appointment of Richard Morley to 'sort, digest and methodize' the Records in the Court of the Receipt of the Exchequer in succession to John Lawton, appointed 1727, now deceased.

[4] See below.

[5] Of these Arthur Agarde was Deputy Chamberlain; Thomas Fanshawe was King's Remembrancer; Sir Vincent Skinner was Auditor and *Scriptor Talliarum*; and Chidiock Wardour was Clerk of the Pells. All took some part, large or small, in the controversy to which we have so many times alluded.

centuries, that we find a generation of officials familiar with the ancient triplicate arrangement, and the part borne by the Chamberlains of the Receipt in that department's functions: from which it would seem that Devon may have been right in his conjecture[1] that confusion began under the Commonwealth.

Fanshawe's statement as to the Chamberlains' part has already been quoted. Skinner, in a statement preserved among the papers of Sir Julius Caesar, gives a full account of the early Receipt and of the reforms of Henry VII there as a preliminary to stating the claims of the Auditor to precedence over the Clerk of the Pells (Wardour), a matter of which another side is seen in the papers preserved at the Receipt.[2] But the most valuable contribution is made by Agarde, who in his *Compendium*[3] (1610) states first that 'Mr. Gidiock Warder keepeth the two Pelles th'one of *Redditus* called *Introitus* and the other of *Exitus* . . . in a rome appoynted for that use nerre the Court of Receipt, a great number from King *Edward the First* untill nowe'; then that of the four 'Threasauries' with which he deals one contained 'Chamberlains Counterpelles' (a most instructive phrase for any one who would consider it), and another 'Pelles' from the reign of Edward I to that of Elizabeth; and finally that the *Innovate Roll* is also there. This, with the Lansdowne MSS. List, shews that in the seventeenth century the Clerk of the Pells (representing the former 'Treasurer's clerk') was possessed of a single series, and it is tempting to guess that at this time the Rolls which ultimately came to the Public Record Office from the 'Chapter House' (i. e. those described by Agarde) represented the Chamberlains' parts of what had originally been a single collection. That the collection was single in medieval times is almost certain.[4] It also seems probable that the particular archives of the Treasurer's Clerk may have been separated off at the time when the Deputy Chamberlains

[1] *Issue Roll of Thomas and Brantingham*, Introduction, p. ix. It is possible, however, that a rather later event—the Great Fire in 1666—may be responsible. We learn from an Account (*A. O. Declared Accounts*, 865) that the Records of the Receipt were on this occasion put in barges and taken to Nonsuch Palace in Surrey: and we may conjecture confusion.

[2] *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous Papers*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* already quoted (above, paragraph (*i*)). The dispute was apparently settled in 1583 by Lord Burleigh in favour of the Clerk of the Pells, in a privy seal warrant which is quoted by Black (*D. K.'s Reports*, IV, ii, p. 179) from one of several copies (another is among the Caesar MSS.); but it seems to have been raised again by Skinner about 1606 (Lansdowne MSS. 171, ff. 103, 353, and 358).

[3] Palgrave, vol. ii, pp. 311 *et seq.*

[4] Among the evidences for this is the statement in a contemporary hand outside an *Issue Roll* of the reign of Edward I (No. 170), that with it are included two *Receipt Rolls* and an *Innovate Roll*. Needless to say they were not there when the roll came to be finally dealt with.

were dropping out of their old connexion with the active work of the department, and he himself, under the title of Clerk of the Pells, was rising to that complete control over the functions represented by the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* which he enjoyed in the post-medieval period. That such separation, if or when it occurred, was not too carefully performed would seem to be indicated by the fact that Devon found among his Archives a Norman Pipe Roll ; which might properly belong to the Archives of the Treasury of the Receipt but had certainly nothing to do with the Clerk of the Pells. It is curious that, though the Pells Office contained rolls of Henry III's reign, one of them, that for the ninth year, remained at the Treasury of the Receipt where Madox saw it.[1] Another curious point is that the *Lansdowne MSS.* List of the Pells Office Rolls and Agarde in his reference to that collection both date the rolls only so far back as to the reign of Edward I.

But however we may account for the Westminster and the Whitehall Collections there still remains the problem of the Rolls that came from ' the vault '. Is it possible that the Auditor, at the time when he disputed precedence with the Clerk of the Pells, also formed for himself, perhaps by drawing on the Treasury of the Receipt as the Clerk of the Pells had done, a collection of medieval archives ? and that when between 1800 and 1833, as Black argues,[2] some of his legitimate Archives —Patent Books and so forth—somehow got removed to ' the vault ' these more ancient rolls went with them ? It is again a tempting conjecture, but one which the absence of any lists of the rolls which came from that and other sources makes it impossible to prove or disprove : and so we must leave it.

(*r*) *The Excusable and the Inexcusable.* We have said enough to indicate that the confusion in which the Receipt Archives came to the hands of those who made the 1859 List must be attributed largely to neglect and maladministration by many hands spread over a considerable time—nearly two centuries at least. The same may probably be said of their mutilation[3]

[1] See the Introduction to Devon's edition of the Brantingham Issue Roll and Devon's Report on the Pells Office (*D. K.'s Reports,* loc. cit.).

[2] *D. K.'s Reports,* II, i, p. 39. Black, who suggests that these archives may have been removed from ' the houses in Palace Yard anciently called Heaven, Hell and Purgatory ' (an eloquent description), deals in detail with the later Books, but studiously avoids any attempt to theorize on the subject of the Rolls. Possibly had he himself had the carrying out of the recommendations he made in this Report things might have been very different.

[3] Many of the rolls have had large pieces of blank parchment abstracted from them : possibly they served as a handy source of supply in the eighteenth century for (e. g.) *Tellers' Bills.* But the nineteenth century, when the Record Commission was sitting charged with the duty of bettering the conditions of Archives, must bear responsibility for the move to Somerset House which in a few years, thanks to the wetness of the vault, reduced some of our rolls to a state of nearly solid blocks.

and loss[1] and of the dispersal of small quantities which we have already noticed as scattered among other Archives.[2] On the other hand, the fact that a Class is in a state of confusion forms no real excuse for leaving it in that, or a worse, condition.

But the real accusation in connexion with the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* is furnished by the *Pells and Auditors* arrangement. That there was some superficial reason for this in a consideration both of the places from which the Archives were received and of the division of the later Archives of the same Department is quite true; and it is true that to arrive at the real nature of these Rolls involved research in somewhat out-of-the-way places, and a lengthy consideration of the rolls themselves. But those who thrust the *Auditors and Pells* arrangement on the Receipt Rolls did more than accept and act upon conclusions hastily formed and intrinsically absurd. By destruction of lists and references they obliterated almost all traces of what their predecessors had done and of the provenance of their Archives, making it impossible ever to re-establish with certainty the original state of the documents. In doing this they committed the worst, because the most elementary, crime of which an Archivist can be guilty.

(ii) Chart to illustrate Development of Records of Issue in the Exchequer of Receipt: with some Notes on the 'Main Record' Theory of Arrangement.

We have to illustrate here the difficulty of arranging in a satisfactory manner the Archives of an Administration which during a considerable part of its career was in a fluid state; taking a concrete example once more from the Exchequer of Receipt, and using only the series and documents relating to Issue. To make the example clearer we have tabulated them (see Chart on p. 223), a system deservedly condemned[3] but occasionally useful.

It will be seen that most periods are covered by more than one

[1] It is very difficult to say when loss occurred and whether it was by theft or otherwise. Documents from the Receipt have from time to time turned up in private hands—for example, a number of *Tellers' Bills* figured in the Phillips sale—but never, I believe, any rolls. The *Tellers' Bills* may have been part of the 'Waste Paper' sold out of the vault under order of the Controller General. On the subject of the loss in this and other ways of Public Records see *The Report . . . of the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Destruction and Sale of Exchequer Records* (*Sessional Papers*, 1840, 298) and the evidence of Sir Thomas Hardy before a Committee of the House of Lords on the Record Office Bill in 1877.

[2] e. g. those of the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer* and the *King's Remembrancer*. Madox saw the Henry II writ of *Liberate* at the Tower of London!

[3] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 40.

continuous series among these Archives ; though few of them last very long, and at the beginning, and again in the middle, we have to depend on nothing but original writs or warrants for Issue. We have seen something of the meaning of all these classes in the previous Appendix.[1]

It is interesting to see how impossible it would be to reduce this body of documents into order by means of the 'Main Record' formula. At the beginning we might presumably attach that description to the very early existing class of original writs of *Liberate*, and even when a *Liberate Roll* is instituted it is for some time distinctly subordinate to the originals, just as the early *Receipt Roll* was subordinate to the original *Tallies*. However, the position will presumably be transferred presently to the General *Liberate Roll* Class : or will it go to that very regular little set of *Brevia Persoluta* ? in any case at what point are we to transfer it to the *Issue Roll*, which is certainly a more developed form, and the one which ultimately survives, of final record ? we are presumably to take the single-columned *Issue Roll* as the main series for a time ; the double-columned one being distinctly a rough draft in origin, which only takes first place gradually (another problem, to decide the point at which it becomes the main series).

We shall not be comfortably settled until we arrive at the final form of the *Issue Roll* (its third form). Meanwhile we have had to face the question raised by the triplication of the series, deciding presumably to treat all three as parallel *Main Series* ; though there is something to be said for making the two Chamberlains' Rolls subsidiary to the Treasurer's, which is the only one to survive eventually. Another little difficulty arises with the *Protecolla*, but we will disregard that.

Now we come to the period when the *Issue Roll* was more or less deliberately dropped.[2] Here we should naturally expect to go back to the original writs as our main, indeed our only, authority : there is considerable ground, however, for saying that the *Issue Roll* was dropped because it was so often repeated by the assignment or *pro* column on the right of the *Receipt Roll* ; and we should

[1] Above, Appendix V (i).

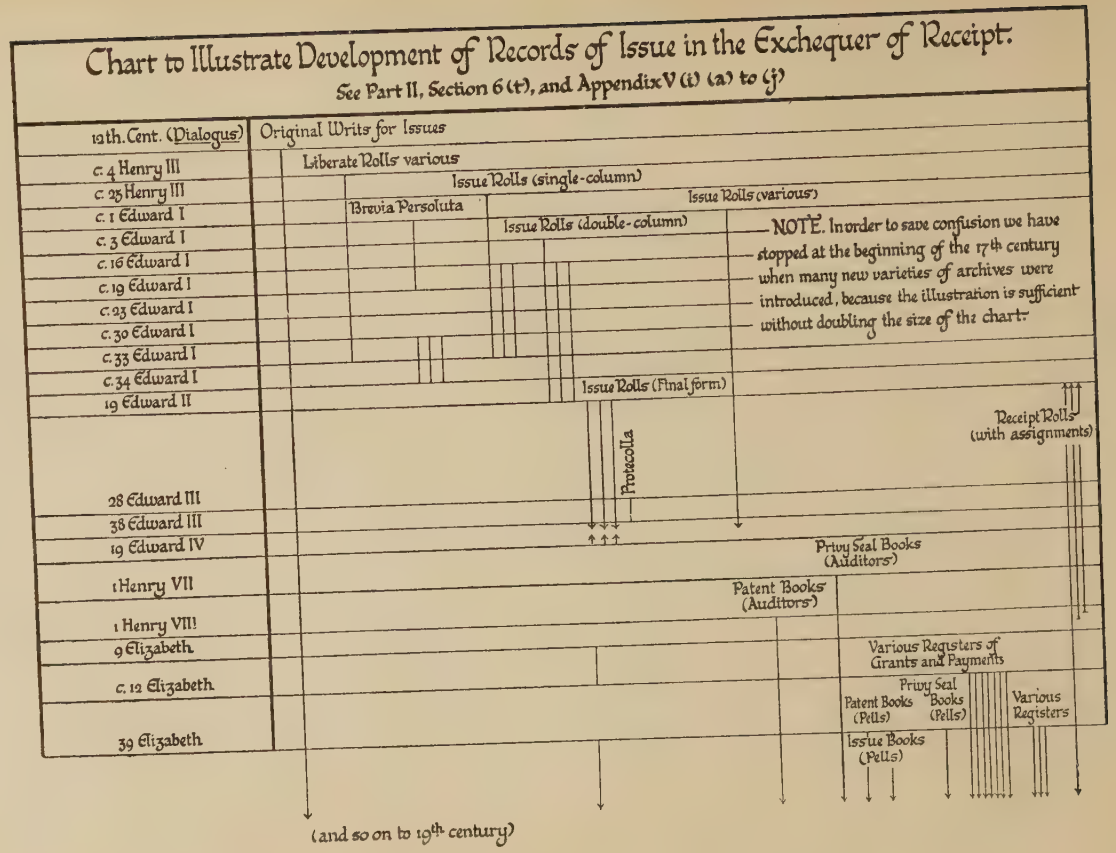
[2] There seems no doubt that the Auditor's side in the official quarrel whose papers we have quoted so often was right in maintaining that Henry VII deliberately depended for safety of Record upon the Receipt Roll, taking the system of issue by writ as sufficiently protected : compare the statement of this point in both the *Exchequer of Receipt* papers and Skinner's papers among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, already quoted. But the dropping took place before Henry VII's time.

certainly have to investigate the claims of that series to be considered the chief Record of Issue! Towards the end of this period, too, a number of new book-forms of Archives were coming in—several of them start, it may be noticed, before 1597, when the *Issue Roll* was finally recommenced by the triumphant Clerk of the Pells. However, from that date onwards there is no question what is the received chief archive of the department, for the *Issue Book* is definitely considered by the Officials themselves as a draft for the *Issue Roll* and all others are unquestioned subsidiaries: we have no further trouble except the introduction of a new series, not a parallel one this time, but a split-off portion of the main one, in the shape of the *Annuities Issue Rolls* in the time of William III.

In the Chart attached special attention is called to the five triplicate series—*Brevia Persoluta; Issue Rolls* (*Single-columned*); *Issue Rolls* (*Double-columned*); *Issue Rolls* (*Final Form*); and *Receipt Rolls* (*with Assignments*). The two groups of lines headed *Various Registers* consist of distinct varieties which are represented together in the chart only for the sake of convenience.

Chart to Illustrate Development of Records of Issue in the Exchequer of Receipt.

See Part II, Section 6 (t), and Appendix V (i) (a) to (j)


10th. Cent. (Dialogus)
c. 4 Henry III
c. 25 Henry III
c. 1 Edward I
c. 3 Edward I
c. 16 Edward I
c. 19 Edward I
c. 23 Edward I
c. 30 Edward I
c. 33 Edward I
c. 34 Edward I
19 Edward II
28 Edward III
38 Edward III
19 Edward IV
1 Henry VII
1 Henry VIII
9 Elizabeth
c. 12 Elizabeth
39 Elizabeth
Original Writs for Issues
Liberate Rolls various
Issue Rolls (single-column)
Issue Rolls (various)
Brevia Persoluta
Issue Rolls (double-column)
NOTE. In order to save confusion we have stopped at the beginning of the 17th century when many new varieties of archives were introduced, because the illustration is sufficient without doubling the size of the chart.
Issue Rolls (Final form)
Protocolla
Receipt Rolls (with assignments)
Privy Seal Books (Auditors)
Patent Books (Auditors)
Various Registers of Grants and Payments
Privy Seal Books (Pells)
Patent Books (Pells)
Various Registers
Issue Books (Pells)
(and so on to 19th century)

iii. A SPECIMEN ARRANGEMENT OF ARCHIVES

In the following chart we give an illustration of the general principles of arrangement formulated in this work. (See Part II, § 6 (*x*).)

Chart of specimen Arrangement of Archives

Showing Administrative and Documentary Divisions, and Corresponding References, applied to part of the Records of the Exchequer of Receipt

	KING'S COURT
[I. Administration which produces]	EXCHEQUER (E) · Chancery (C) · Legal Courts (K.B. &c.)
[II. Divisions]	EXCHEQUER of RECEIPT (E.4..) · Exchequer K.R. · Exchequer L.T.R. &c.
[III. Functions (Sub-divisions)]	ISSUE (E.403) · Receipt · Unclassified
[IV. Classes]	ORIGINAL WRITS (E.403/1) · Liberate Rolls · Brevia Persoluta · Issue Rolls
[V. Individual Documents & Numbers]	FILES IN THIS SERIES (E.403/1/1: E.403/1/2: &c)
[VI. Pages, Membranes & Sub-numbers]	INDIVIDUAL WRITS ON THIS FILE (E.403/1/1 (1) (2) (3) &c.

NOTE. These references are slightly altered from those actually in use at the Public Record Office.

APPENDIX VI

RULES FOR TRANSCRIBING

The *Rules for Transcribing* quoted below were drawn up some years ago by the writer for a private printing Society, though the illustrations have been slightly modified for our present purpose.[1] In reprinting them here we should add that the general principle enunciated in the preliminary note to Part *B* (*Text*) should govern, in our view, all printing of Archives of whatever date and in whatever language.

Also that while the principles laid down are essential, the formal signs to be employed may be altered at will by any one, provided that he makes it clear by a preliminary note[2] what his methods are; and keeps to them.

Finally, that the only modification which has suggested itself during some years is in the direction of putting more in footnotes and less within brackets in the text: the latter practice tending (as experience has shown) to annoy and interrupt the reader.

RULES FOR TRANSCRIBING DOCUMENTS

NOTE.—The idea here aimed at is that, where any document is transcribed in full, the printed text, using as few and as simple conventional signs as possible, should yet represent the original exactly; with the single exception embodied in Rule A (1). *All intrusion of the personality of the Editor or Transcriber, except in Introduction or Notes, is thus avoided as far as possible.*

Unless it is otherwise stated, the Rules apply equally to documents written in Latin, French, or English.

A.—Abbreviations, Letters and Signs

(1) All abbreviations, of whatever kind, whose meaning is undoubted are to be extended: see however *C* (3) below.

(2) Abbreviations whose meaning is in the least uncertain are to be represented by an apostrophe. This will apply particularly to surnames and place-names in Latin; and to the terminations of certain words in English documents of an early date:

e. g., pcell = parcell'.

[1] The Surrey Record Society.

[2] It is this preliminary note which is so important and so frequently neglected.

(3) Capitals ; small letters used where capitals might be expected ; and the use of the letters *c* (when used for *t* before a *y* sound in Latin words), *e* (for the Latin diphthong *æ*), *i*, *j*, *u*, and *v* : all these are to reappear as they are found in the original.

(4) Stops, when they are found in the original, should always be copied ; and when they are not so found must not be inserted.

(5) All paragraph and other marks deliberately made in the original are to be copied.

(6) Figures are to be copied as nearly as possible, whether they are Roman (large or small letters) or Arabic numerals :

e. g., M C $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$; 1 180.

B.—Text

The principle adopted is to secure a distinction between the original Scribe's writing and the Editor's or Transcriber's insertions by means of the contrast—

(*a*) *Between Roman and Italic type ;*

(*b*) *Between the plain text and words, &c., placed within square brackets.*

(1) The text, as written by the original Scribe, should be copied for ordinary (Roman) type.

(2) Words or letters, missing by some accident, which can be certainly supplied by the Transcriber or Editor, are to be in Roman but within square brackets :

e. g., Ge[orge] Washington.

This does not apply to mistakes by the original Scribe : see Rule (6) below.

(3) Missing letters which cannot certainly be supplied are to be represented by approximately the same number of dots within square brackets. If several words or lines are missing, the dots may be replaced by a note in Italic within square brackets :

e. g., [*one line illegible*] ; [*half a line torn off*] ; [*address missing*].

(4) In the case of corrections of any kind in the original, what the Scribe finally left is to stand in the text as in Rule (1) above.

(5) The fact that any alteration was made by the Scribe is to be indicated by a note in square brackets at the point affected or at the foot of the page. Thus a Scribe may—

(A) Delete a sign, letter, or word by striking it through ;

(B) Delete by expunging (placing dots or a line underneath) ;

(C) Delete by erasing (scraping out) ;

(D) Insert a word, &c., above the line, in the margin, and so forth;

(E) Write a fresh word, &c., over what he first wrote.

These facts should be indicated in the following ways, words from the original being in Roman, the rest of the note in Italic:

(A) The King [Queen *struck through*] desires . . .
(B) The King [Queen *expunged*] desires . . .
(C) The King [Queen *erased*] desires . . .
(D) The Chief[1] Magistrate wishes . . .
(E) President Wilson[2] desires . . .

[1] Chief *inserted above line.* [2] Wilson *written over erasure.*

(6) Words, &c., omitted by mistake in the original and supplied in the text, emendations, and notes (such as *sic*, or *?*) inserted by the Transcriber or Editor should be entirely in Italic within square brackets.

(7) Where there is more than one copy of the original, the readings of one are to be used for the text; variants from the others being introduced only in footnotes.

C.—Exceptional Cases

(1) Notes which seem too long for the text may be placed in footnotes.

(2) Explanations of the text required in any special cases not covered by these Rules may be placed in footnotes, as in instances below[1] [2].

[1] *A blank apparently left here and* James *inserted later.*
[2] *A different handwriting begins at this point.*

(3) Matters constantly recurring, such as a meaningless abbreviation in an English document, adoption by the Editor of an abbreviation for words frequently repeated, or the alteration of a single word every time it appears, may be indicated by a general note.

(4) The arrangement of the original may be altered by the Editor to save space. Thus marginal notes in the original may appear in the body of the printed text with an explanatory footnote.

GENERAL INDEX

NOTE.—*Documents, Offices, and Officials used by way of illustration in this Book are not included, in detail, in the Index. An exception is furnished by the* Exchequer of Receipt, *which is indexed as it appears in Appendix V. For the remainder a sufficient guide is provided by the* Conspectus *in Appendix I.*

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